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ABSTRACT

The study described the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., and documented significant interactions among selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. These elements were the migrant farmworker community, the farm labor employers, and agencies of the federal government and of the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Puerto Rico. Several of these elements were analyzed to provide a background to the Council's development. The study relied on primary data, i.e., correspondence, records of meetings, and unpublished and published materials, for documentation of observations. In general, it was concluded that during 1971 through 1973 the Council undertook the provision of services heretofore not offered to farmworkers throughout the Connecticut Valley, and became involved in advocacy efforts and in the promotion of self-determination among the farmworker community on an unprecedented scale. This report discusses the shade tobacco agricultural industry, and the role of the federal government and the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Puerto Rico in the migrant labor system; discusses the background of the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers, their demographic traits, and the characteristics of their life and work; addresses the Council's purpose, functions and development; and focuses on four activities involving the Council which have been determined to be significant in their influence on selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. (NQ)

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THE NEW ENGLAND FARM WORKERS' COUNCIL:
CASE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

Bruce Young

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1975

THE NEW ENGLAND FARM WORKERS' COUNCIL:
CASE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATION

A Dissertation

by

Bruce Young

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May 1975

DEDICATION

To my family

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to describe the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., and to document significant interactions among selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The New England Farm Workers' Council is a non-profit corporation funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the U.S. Department of Labor.

The study is divided into an Introduction and five chapters. Chapter I discusses the shade tobacco agricultural industry, and the role of the Federal government and the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico in the migrant labor system. Chapter II deals with the background to the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers, their demographic traits, and the characteristics of their life and work. Chapter III addresses itself to the purpose, functions and development of the New England Farm Workers' Council. Chapter IV focuses on four activities involving the Council which have been determined to be of significance in their influence on selected elements of the system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley. Chapter V presents the study's findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

In general, it is concluded that during 1971 through 1973 the N.E.F.W.C. undertook the provision of services heretofore not offered to farmworkers throughout the Connecticut Valley. The agency also became involved in advocacy efforts and in the promotion of self-determination among the farmworker community on an unprecedented scale.

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PREFACE

> The authoritarian traditions of business leadership in the nineteenth century have been only slightly modified to a more benevolent but little less authoritarian style of management in the 1960's. The underlying assumption of the organizational leader might be stated as: "We hire you, we pay you, do your job. We will control and direct you. If you obey these controls and directions, our operation will survive and you will have income. Furthermore, we will provide you with fringe benefits so that you may have your pleasure off the job." Such an assumption requires a continuous spiral of buying the other person off.
>
> Harry Levinson, The Exceptional Executive[1]

Why begin a study written from the perspective of a farmworker-oriented organization by referring to the malpractice of management? The answer is basically simple. Management, in the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system of the Connecticut River Valley, has the power to initiate solutions to key problems affecting that system. At present, management--this refers specifically to the farm labor employers and to the government of Puerto Rico, the two principal decision-makers in the system--seems to be at a loss of direction. They express puzzlement when confronted with the expression of deep resentment among the farmworkers. "We offer them jobs when they can find none in Puerto Rico. We pay them a higher wage than they could earn on the farms in Puerto Rico. We house and feed them adequately and fulfill our end of the contract. What more do they want?" These are some feelings of the employers. The officials of the government of Puerto Rico express similar views: "We have done more to insure the well being of the Puerto Rican farmworkers than anybody else. We have a good farm labor contract which has been negotiated during twenty years of hard bargaining with the growers and have implemented legislation to protect the workers. No other state watches for the interests of its people while they are living and working in other states."

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[1] Harry Levinson, The Exceptional Executive: A Psychological Conception (New York: The New American Library, 1971).

Many workers are not impressed. "We are bought and sold like slaves. The contract means one thing in Puerto Rico and another here. The government of Puerto Rico forgets about us, and the companies abuse us as they wish." Thus may a common feeling be paraphrased. The concerns and reforms of management do not reach the workers' hearts, because they did not originate there. Instead, there is today a deep sense of alienation among farm labor management and the Puerto Rican migrant farm worker in the Connecticut River Valley. It is the author's belief that this alienation is there because management is the sole decision maker in the farm labor system, and because workers are reduced to objects within that system, comparable to farm machinery. This crisis of alienation is bound to continue and to deteriorate until the workers feel that they are actors or decision-makers within that system, and will not be resolved until the workers feel that they are full partners with management.

INTRODUCTION

For the past twenty years, thousands of Puerto Rican farmworkers have been a part of the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley area of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The basic elements of this system have been the farmworkers and their employers. However, other elements have participated in this system, primarily the Federal government and the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico, whose functions have been chiefly those of regulating the living and working conditions of the farm laborers. Since 1971, the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., has also been functioning within the system, for the purpose of providing a variety of services to the farmworkers and promoting their expressed interests. These elements of the farm labor system are the focus of this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., and to document significant interactions among the Council and selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. These elements are the migrant farmworker community, and farm labor employers, and agencies of the Federal government and of the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico. In addition, the study will analyze several of these elements in order to provide a background to the development of the Council.

Importance of the Study

The author has determined the study to be of importance for the following reasons:

1. The study examines the New England Farm Workers' Council, a unique interstate corporation providing a variety of services to Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers. The study of such a multi-service, community based organization can serve in the planning and development of other organizations.

2. The study traces the development of the Council in the context of a system of organizations affecting the Puerto Rican migrant farmworker in the Connecticut Valley. Such a comprehensive view serves to point out the variety of influences that have contributed to the Council's development and to the current situation of the migrants in the Valley.

3. The study is a contribution to the record of the historical and contemporary relationship between the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers and the government of Puerto Rico.

4. The study presents an analysis and synthesis of various studies pertaining to the demographic charactersitics and living and working conditions of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

5. The study is of value in discerning the impact of education

and other services provided by the Council to the farmworker community during 1972 and 1973. Such a general evaluation can be of use in improving the organization's services and those of other agencies serving mobile, low-income communities.

6. The study deals with the educational process on a variety of levels: the education services provided by the Council, the experience acquired by Council members during the development of the agency, and the educational process arising from the interactions among selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system.

Assumptions of the Study

A major assumption of the study is that the relationships among the selected elements of the farm labor system in the Connecticut River Valley is in need of extensive improvement. The current relationships, the author believes, are in many respects wasteful of the human and material resources present within the system.

A second major assumption is that this study will be of greatest value to administrators of social action organizations. The study is written by a practitioner within the system described, and alludes to specific events and relationships among elements within that system. These events and relationships are examined with the primary expectation that they may serve as useful examples to practitioners in other systems.

A third major assumption is that migrant farm labor is an economically and socially undesirable form of employment as it is known at present, both in the Connecticut River Valley and elsewhere.[2] The seasonal, low-paying nature of employment in migrant farm labor prevents the worker from attaining sufficient economic power to fulfill his own needs for adequate food, clothing and shelter, much less those of his family. The roving nature of his employment prevents the worker from participating effectively in the social institutions from which the greater population derives benefit. In short, the migrant farm laborer is locked within a system which is only marginally productive to him.

Limitations of the Study

The author of the study has been Executive Director of the New England Farm Workers' Council from January, 1972, to the present. His particular involvement in the Council and in the system described in the study provide a unique and personal perspective on the subject matter. Although the author has attempted to present the study in the most objective manner possible, the information presented will obviously be influenced by his personal perspective on the farm labor system described in the study.

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[2] James Nash, Migrant Farmworkers in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations (Boston: Mass. Council of Churches, 1974). Also, Martín Hernandez Ramirez, "Estudio de viabilidad para el establecimiento de una cooperative de credito y ahorro" (San Juan: Administracion de Fomento Cooperativo, 1974).

A second significant limitation of the study is the evolving nature of the system under examination. Since the situational factors predominant at present could change within a relatively short period, it is important that the reader view this study as a description of a set of relationships at a particular point in time.

Format of the Study

The author has utilized a case study approach and the historical method of presentation. An effort has been made to reconstruct and examine the interactions of selected elements within a currently operational system. Specific names, dates, and places have been utilized throughout. The study has often relied on primary data, such as correspondence, records of meetings, and unpublished materials, for documentation of observations. In addition, a bibliography of published materials has been developed, in order to place the study within the context of a general body of knowledge pertaining to Puerto Rican migrant farm labor.

Definition of Terms

Puerto Rican migrant farmworker[3]: The farmworker who travels seasonally from Puerto Rico to the Connecticut River Valley in order to work in the tobacco, nursery, vegetable, and fruit crops of that area. The Puerto Rican migrant farmworker discussed in this study differs considerably from other migrants in his employment patterns. While the migrant worker in the eastern United States travels in the migrant "stream," following the crops, the Puerto Rican farmworker is recruited in Puerto Rico and transported by airplane to the Connecticut Valley, where he is employed under a contract which has a maximum duration of twenty-four to twenty-eight weeks. Moreover, while migrants in the "stream" may be men, women, and children, the Puerto Rican migrants working in the Connecticut Valley are exclusively adult males who reside in farm labor camps. However, since the Puerto Rican workers cross state lines for the purpose of engaging in seasonal agricultural labor, they meet most Federal government definitions of "migrant" worker.

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[3] Senado de Puerto Rico, Comision Especial. "Informe sobre investigacion de las oficinas de la Division de Migracion y las condiciones de vida y trabajo del trabajador agricola migrante." San Juan: Senado de Puerto Rico, 10 de abril, 1972.

Connecticut River Valley: The valley area of Western Massachusetts and Northwestern Connecticut, an area approximately ninety miles long and forty miles wide. This area contains rural, suburban, and urban environments, including the cities of Holyoke and Springfield, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut. The principal agricultural product of this area is shade grown cigar tobacco, although vegetables, fruits, broadleaf tobacco, and nursery products are also grown commercially.

New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc.: A non-profit corporation established in 1971 in the states of Connecticut and Massachusetts for the purpose of providing services to farmworkers and advocating for their expressed interests. The Council operates its programs primarily with the aid of Federal funds, and has a Board of Directors comprised of a majority of farmworkers and a staff of over thirty persons. The Board of Directors is legally responsible for the affairs of the corporation, and vests authority to administer projects in an Executive Director. The Board is advised by Regional Advisory Councils, comprised of groups of farmworkers representing various areas and farm labor camps.

Farm Labor Employers: The employers of the majority of the farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley are approximately seventeen corporate and family-sized growers who belong to the Shade Tobacco Growers' Agricultural Association, located in Windsor, Connecticut.[4] The Association is a non-profit corporation whose role it is to recruit and manage seasonal farm labor and perform public relations functions on behalf of the growers. The two principal members of the Association are the Consolidated Cigar Division of Gulf and Western Industries, and Culbro Tobacco Division of the General Cigar Company. Most of the other members of the Association sell their product to Consolidated and Culbro. The Board of Directors of the Association is comprised of its grower members, and the authority to manage the affairs of the Association is vested in an Executive Director.

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[4] Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, "Application for financial support under the Migrant Health Act" (Windsor, Conn., 1972).

Farm labor contract: The contract negotiated under Puerto Rican law between the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico and the representatives of growers on the mainland.

Objectives

The study will be addressed to the following nine objectives:

The first objective will be to describe selected elements of the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut River Valley. This objective will focus on several elements. The first will be the development of the shade tobacco industry in the Connecticut Valley and the patterns of its labor requirements since its inception. Secondly, attention will be given to the current economic status of the shade tobacco industry and the effect of this status on the migrant labor force. The third element of this objective will be an analysis of the role of the governments of Puerto Rico, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, as well as the role of the Federal government, in the recruitment and management of migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley.

In order to accomplish the first objective, the writer will examine relevant research on the subject of the shade tobacco industry in the Connecticut Valley and the industry's labor requirements. The study will also include research on the role in the migrant farm labor system of the governments of Puerto Rico, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, and the role of the Federal government. Research information will be drawn from books, periodicals, materials developed by government agencies, and other relevant publications.

The second objective of the study will be to provide a background to the migration of Puerto Rican agricultural workers to the Connecticut Valley. This objective will be approached from a historical as well as a current perspective. The method for meeting this objective will be to research pertinent documents and publications on the subject of the migration of Puerto Rican agricultural workers, including books, periodicals, and other documents. Also, interviews will be conducted with knowledgeable individuals in industry, government, and the labor force.

The third objective will be to examine selected documents pertaining to the characteristics of Puerto Rican farmworkers migrating to the Connecticut Valley. This objective will focus on the following characteristics of the farmworker population: age, family size, schooling, and employment characteristics such as length of employment in farm labor, unemployment rates, years of employment, and income. The writer will strive to present a composite image of the farmworker currently migrating to the Connecticut Valley. In order to accomplish this objective, the writer will select surveys of Puerto Rican farmworkers conducted by educational institutions and government agencies. In addition, this objective will include an examination of selected books and periodicals on the subject of the characteristics of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers.

The fourth objective will be to describe the living and working conditions of selected Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In addition, comparisons will be made of working and living conditions of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers at different points in time. The method for fulfilling this objective will be to examine studies on the subject of working and living conditions of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers performed at educational institutions and government agencies, and to review relevant books, periodicals, and other literature.

The fifth objective will be to describe the current purpose and functions of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc. In order to meet this objective the writer will focus on three selected objectives of the Farm Workers' Council: the provision of services, advocacy of the farmworkers' expressed interests, and promotion of self-determination among the farmworker community. The writer will analyze the basic documents of the organization, such as the articles of incorporation, bylaws, and grant award contracts with funding agencies. The objective will also be approached by examination of the organizational structure, selected performance objectives of the Council, and program components of the organization.

The sixth objective of the study will be to describe selected factors which have been influential in the development of the Farm

Workers' Council, including legislative and institutional antecedents to the activities of the Council. The means to achieve this objective will include a review of contemporary legislative and judicial actions in Massachusetts and Connecticut relevant to Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers. The writer will also examine the following institutional precursors to the Farm Workers' Council: the Migrant Ministry of the Councils of Churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut; the Massachusetts Migrant Health Project; the Massachusetts Migrant Education Project; and other contemporary organizations and projects of service to the farmworker community.

The seventh objective of the study will be to present a descriptive overview of selected events in the development of the Farm Workers' Council from 1971 to 1973, as viewed from the unique perspective of the Executive Director of the organization. The writer will review documentary sources of information regarding activities of the Farm Workers' Council, including the minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors, and staff reports to the Executive Director and to the Board. The writer will include significant correspondence between the Council and farm labor employers, and between the Council and selected agencies of the governments of Puerto Rico, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Commentaries by farmworkers and other information published in the Council newsletter will be examined, as will personal records of the Executive Director. Newspaper accounts, periodicals, and other documents pertaining to the development of the Council will also be examined.

The eighth objective of the study will be to select and describe four prototypic activities judged by the writer to be of significance in their influence on selected elements of the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. Specific focus will be placed on the following activities. First, on the in-service training sessions of the staff and the Board of Directors of the Council. Second, on the education programs administered by the Council. Third, on efforts by farmworkers during 1972 and 1973 to improve their living and working conditions. Lastly, attention will be given to interactions among the farmworker community, the Council, and the government of Puerto Rico during 1972 and 1973.

In order to fulfill this objective, the writer will examine the following sources of information. First, materials used during staff training sessions, including questionnaires utilized to determine the effectiveness of training; recorded interviews with training consultants to the Board of Directors of the Council; interviews with members of the Board of Directors; and records and minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors. Second, evaluations of the Council's education program performed by agency members and independent evaluators. Third, newspaper and other accounts relating to farmworker efforts at improving their living and working conditions. Lastly, the author will examine correspondence, published materials, and other documents pertaining to the relationships among the Council, the farmworkers, and the government of Puerto Rico during 1972 and 1973.

The ninth and final objective of the study will be to present conclusions and recommendations pertaining to the selected elements of the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. This objective will focus on alternative prospective relationships among these selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system.

The writer will analyze documents indicating the current relationship among these selected elements of the system, including periodicals and news accounts, and interviews with knowledgeable individuals selected from the farmworker community, the farm labor employers, from selected government agencies.

Organization of the Study

The study will be divided into six sections. An Introduction will present a description of the Study and state its objectives. Chapter I will present an introduction to the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley and describe selected elements within that system, namely the shade tobacco industry and several government agencies involved in the migrant farm labor system. Chapter II will provide a general background to the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers and examine demographic characteristics and working and living conditions of migrant farmworkers in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Chapter III will examine the structure, functions, and development of the NEFWC. Chapter IV will describe and analyze four prototypic activities judged by the author to be of significance in their influence on the selected elements of the migrant farm labor system. Chapter V will present a summary of the study, conclusions, and recommendations pertaining to potential new relationships among the selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley.

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SYSTEM OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FARM LABOR IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY

This chapter will present a description of selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. Particular attention will be given to the shade tobacco agricultural industry, as its functions and labor requirements exert great influence on the employment conditions of the migrant workers. One role of the Federal government in the system, and that of the governments of Puerto Rico, Massachusetts, and Connecticut are also discussed, as these governments set the legal conditions and vehicles by which Puerto Rican migrants travel to and work in New England.

A. An Overview of the Shade-Grown Tobacco Industry in the Connecticut Valley

Since 1952, a system has existed in the Connecticut Valley designed for the importation and employment of Puerto Rican farm laborers in the shade-grown tobacco industry. That system has directly affected the lives of thousands of farmworkers. This study pertains to that system, and to the interactions of several selected elements within it. It begins by taking into consideration one of the system's principal components, the tobacco industry itself.

It is the demand for shade-grown tobacco which promoted the development of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system, and the overall conditions required for its production which in large part delineate the characteristics of the labor system.

Shade-grown cigar wrapper tobacco is grown in the Connecticut River Valley area of Massachusetts and Connecticut. This valley is a funnel-shaped tract of fertile land which extends from the border towns of New Hampshire and Vermont to Portland, Connecticut, just south of Hartford. The valley occupies an area of approximately 61 square miles, and is divided by the meandering Connecticut River. Because of its history of colonial settlement, it is also known as the Pioneer Valley.

Broadleaf, sun-grown tobacco was an indigenous plant of the Connecticut Valley, smoked in pipes by the Nonotuck Indians and other natives of the area.[1] European colonists learned from the Indians the custom of tobacco smoking, and made it a fashionable practice in America and Europe. As the use of tobacco grew in popularity, the leaf began to be used for barter, and later for commercial exchange. By the mid-1800's broadleaf tobacco had become an important business commodity in the Connecticut Valley. Around 1875 a new product, Havana leaf tobacco, a smooth leaf often used for cigar wrappers, was introduced for cultivation in the Valley, with the eventual result that the area was largely given over to the commercial growing of tobacco. Hartford, Connecticut, on the shore of the Connecticut River, became an important trading center for broadleaf and Havana tobacco.

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[1] The Shade Tobacco Growers Agricultural Association, Inc., The Story of Tobacco Valley.

Toward the end of the 19th century, a new cigar wrapper tobacco, imported from Sumatra, was introduced in the market. This leaf was extremely fine textured and mild tasting, and soon began to compete successfully with the Connecticut tobacco. Sumatra-grown tobacco became a serious threat to the economy of the Connecticut valley, as an increasing number of cigar manufacturers showed preference for it over the Connecticut product. In order to sustain the sagging Connecticut industry, researchers began to seek ways of improving the Valley's cigar wrapper tobacco. Around 1900, federal government agronomists and Connecticut farmers discovered that Sumatra tobacco could thrive in the Valley if its natural environment were duplicated by means of growing the plant under partial shade. The shade was provided by white cotton netting, suspended over the plants with the aid of tall cedar poles. These experiments proved to be commercially successful, and from that point on shade grown tobacco began to be cultivated over thousands of acres in the Valley. By the early 1950's, 9,000 acres of shade tobacco were being cultivated, along with 20,000 acres of broadleaf.[2]

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[2] Ingrassia, Michelle. "Tobacco Valley Blossoms in Summer's Heat," Hartford Courant, August 5, 1973.

Through the next decades the shade tobacco industry underwent a long cycle of growth, and then of decline. By 1971, the Connecticut Department of Agriculture reported that acreage had dropped to 4,700 acres for shade tobacco and 1,610 for broadleaf. Labor needs had dropped accordingly.[3] It was also reported that, whereas after World War II there were some 300 tobacco farmers in the Valley, there only remained about fifty in 1971. Land formerly utilized for the cultivation of tobacco was increasingly being utilized for other purposes, principally real estate development.

The labor force in the Connecticut Valley shade tobacco industry has fluctuated in numbers since the commercial inception of the product. It has also fluctuated in ethnic composition. During the early period of tobacco agriculture in the Valley, the crop was cultivated by colonial farmers. During the 19th century, with the development of commercial tobacco agriculture, the Valley experienced an influx of Polish farm laborers, many of whom were brought to the area as indentured servants. During the first half of the present century, the adult labor force was attracted away from the land to the industrial cities, and tobacco growers turned to the employment of large numbers of school age youths. During World War II and up to 1952, Jamaican workers were imported to supplement the local labor force, under contracts between the growers and the Jamaican government. These contracts were supervised by the U.S. Department of Labor. In 1952, the first Puerto Rican contract workers arrived in the Valley, under an agreement negotiated between the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association and the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. These laborers came primarily to work for the members of the Association in the shade tobacco fields, but also to supplement local labor in nurseries and truck farms. These Puerto Rican workers numbered between six and nine thousand per season through the nineteen fifties and sixties.[4]

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[3] Ibid.

Down from a peak labor demand of 24,000 workers, recruited from local communities and imported migrant labor sources, the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association presently employs about 17,500 persons per year. About 8,000 of these are seasonal day-haul workers recruited in the area, and 7,500 are out of state seasonal workers. Of these, about 2,600 are youths recruited for summer work through school districts in the Southeastern U.S. and supervised by school officials. About 5,000 are Puerto Rican contract seasonal laborers, brought to the area directly from Puerto Rico by the Growers' Association. Several hundred other Puerto Rican workers travel to the area without contracts and under private arrangements with smaller growers.[5]

This labor force is distributed throughout the various growing areas of the Connecticut Valley, where approximately 8,500 acres are currently suitable for growing shade tobacco. Most of this land is located in the State of Connecticut. The product of this labor force is tobacco type 61, a leaf of the highest quality available, which is utilized as the outer wrapper of premium cigars manufactured in the United States and abroad. The leaf is unique in the world, comparable only to the original Sumatra product. Its value is also the highest in the world, with a 1972 reported price of $4.00 per pound and a variance in price and quality from $2.50 to $11.50 per pound. The industry operates with a minimum of mechanization, as any damage to the leaf reduces its value. Labor accounts for approximately 80% of the cost of production.[6]

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[4] Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, "Application for Financial Support under the Migrant Health Act."

[5] Ibid.

The labor force begins its work each year in the middle of March. At that time the poles that support the cloth awning are reset in a vertical position to correct the tilting effect of the winter weather. During March and April tobacco seeds are cultivated in protected beds, and the workers begin to erect the netting on the poles, so that the plants may be transferred to the field in mid-May. After the plant has taken root in the field, the stems must be strung to a wire lattice overhead, which is suspended from the poles. There are millions of plants and not one can be bypassed in this process, as they are tall and shallow-rooted and need the support of the strings.[7]

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[6] Hoadley, Kenneth, "The Connecticut Valley Shade Tobacoo Industry." Presented as a requirement toward the degree of Master of Business Administration, Harvard University, April 1973.

It is largely the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers who perform this initial and arduous task of preparing for the cultivation of the tobacco. During the six to eight weeks in which the plant reaches maturity, the workers fertilize each individual plant, continually weeding out parasites. As the tobacco plant matures during the summer, the leaves are individually harvested, beginning with the bottom of the plant. The leaves are taken into large wooden barns in the midst of the fields, to be strung together and hung in layers to be cured for a period of four to seven weeks. At this time the barns are heated with gas burners that draw moisture out of the tobacco and promote the elaborate curing process. Later the tobacco in the sheds is humidified and removed from the barns. The cotton netting is then taken down and stored, concluding the cultivation work for the season. This entire task takes a period of approximately eight and a half months, from mid-March through the end of November. In the next step, called processing, the leaves are sorted by quality and size. There are between twelve and twenty grades of tobacco, and within each grade the leaves are sorted by size, leaving an assortment of nearly one hundred grades and sizes of tobacco leaf. The quality and size of the leaf is determined largely by the weather during the agricultural season. Excessive rain depletes the fertilizer, and prolonged cloudiness is also detrimental. Ideal weather includes generous amounts of sunshine and one inch of rain weekly.[8]

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[7] Ingrassia, op. cit.

Work on the tobacco farms is performed under most weather conditions. In March, while there is still snow on the ground, the workers labor in the fields, resetting the poles, clearing the seed beds of snow by hand, and preparing the soil. During periods of Spring rain and wind the workers set about straightening twisted plants and insuring the proper fertilizer level. Only in heavy rains do the workers stay in their barracks or perform indoor work.

The primary shade tobacco farm employers in the Connecticut Valley consist at present of seventeen individual growers, fifteen of whom are associated with the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, of Windsor, Connecticut, a non-profit cooperative. The purpose of the Association is that of recruitment and management of seasonal farm labor and promotion of the overall interests of the tobacco growers. Among these growers are two relatively large corporations, Culbro Tobacco Division of General Cigar and Consolidated Cigar Division of Gulf and Western Industries. The Culbro company also operates Imperial Nurseries, the largest garden shrub producer in New England. Each of these companies plants between

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[8] Ibid.

1,000 and 2,000 acres of shade tobacco annually. Five other smaller, family-operated companies each plant between 300 and 500 acres a year. Also, ten small growers each plant between 50 and 150 acres of shade tobacco as well as broadleaf. The two large corporations are fully integrated with cigar manufacturing facilities in Puerto Rico, and grow tobacco only for their own manufacturing needs. The medium sized growers sell their crops to Consolidated, which processes them in their facilities and ships all its Connecticut Valley tobacco, as does Culbro, to Puerto Rico for manufacture. The ten smaller growers market their tobacco through the Windsor Shade Tobacco Company of Hartford to international tobacco brokers and smaller cigar manufacturers.[9] The larger companies employ the majority of the Puerto Rican migrant labor force.

Management of the workers is largely charged to the Growers' Association, which recruits them in Puerto Rico and assigns them to the individual employers, who in turn supervise their daily work and carry them on their payroll. Management in these companies is largely traditional and conservative. A number of top managers have risen through the ranks in their companies, and some boast of their own experience in the tobacco fields in comparison with the performance of the Puerto Rican migrants. Consolidated cigar seems to exhibit the most progressive management, and their camps and equipment are invariably in better condition than others'. The attitude toward workers on the part of the Culbro Division management is often one of thinly veiled mistrust and disdain, as was that of the former Executive Director of the Growers' Association. The smaller growers generally have a patronizing but closer working relationship with their employees, so that even though conditions may not compare favorably with those of the larger employers, many workers prefer to work for the smaller farmers.

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[9] Hoadley, op. cit.

Profits earned by tobacco growers in the Connecticut Valley have experienced a slow decline during the last fifteen years. At present, the overall capital investment in each crop is approximately $30 million. During the 1973 season, the gross return reported on a $30 million investment was $20 million.[10] Over the last fifteen years, acreage of shade grown tobacco in the Connecticut Valley has decreased by more than 50%. This decline has taken place despite the fact that the United States is the largest producer, importer, and consumer of tobacco in the world, as well as the largest cigar manufacturer. Overall production in the Connecticut Valley has decreased, although technological improvements have provided for an increase in production per acre.

Several factors have influenced the decline in production of tobacco, and therefore the decline in employment of the Puerto

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[10] Conversation with Anthony Amenta, Executive Director, Shade Tobacco Growers' Association.

Rican migrant worker. One chief factor is the development of a new technology in cigar manufacturing, which allows for the production of a homogenized inner wrapper and outer covering for cigars, of inferior quality to the whole leaf but of much lower price. It is estimated that over 90% of all the cigars now produced in the United States contain this homogenized product. A second factor is the emergence of foreign producers with slightly inferior but much less expensive cigar wrapper tobacco than the Connecticut Valley type 61 leaf. These substitutes are cutting into sales of the Connecticut tobacco here and abroad.[11] In addition, overall demand for cigars has decreased 24% since since 1959.[12] It is reported that, in general, "it may be safely assumed that the demand for Connecticut Valley shade grown cigar wrapper tobacco . . . will continue to decline."[13]

In addition to reduced demand, the industry is affected by an extraordinarily high cost structure which shows no indication of reduction. Domestic tobacco cultivation overall uses 150% more workers than regular crops, and 275% more seasonal labor. Labor demand in shade grown tobacco production is even higher than this. The combination of reduced demand and increasing production costs has placed the industry in a serious profit squeeze. Since the larger tobacco companies in the Valley do not depend on tobacco sales for their profit--they merely transfer it to their own manufacturing companies--it is the smaller grower who is most affected by the profit squeeze.

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[11] Christopher Mock, "The Seasonal Workforce in the New England Tobacco Industry: The Role of the New England Farm Workers' Council." Submitted as a course requirement in Agribusiness, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, November 1972.

[12] Hoadley, op. cit.

[13] "Gobierno P.R. Insiste que Todo Migrante Boricua Venga a E.U. Protegido por Contrato" (New York: El Diario-La Prensa, August 7, 1973).

Another major factor in the decline of production of shade tobacco has been the utilization of tobacco land for more profitable purposes, mainly real estate development. Land prices in the Connecticut Valley have increased sharply, and along with them have land taxes. These factors have driven a number of small tobacco growers to sell their land for development. One of the two largest growers, Culbro Tobacco Division of General Cigar, has developed a real estate subdivision, Culbro Realty, and it is rumored that a principal reason for the acquisition of Consolidated Cigar by Gulf and Western Industries was for the value of its land holdings.

All these factors seem to point to the eventual disappearance of shade tobacco agriculture from the Connecticut Valley, and the elimination of agricultural employment for Puerto Rican migrants in this area. However, several factors serve to slow decline. First is that the large growers in the area, Consolidated and Culbro, are primarily cigar manufacturers, and as such need sources of tobacco. They are developing alternative sources in Central America and the Caribbean, but these cannot yet meet their total manufacturing needs. Therefore shade tobacco will continue to be produced in this area by these companies at least until other sources are developed. Also, these and other growers will probably seek to wait until land prices reach their peak, and until then utilize tobacco to cover the cost of holding the land. The middle sized growers, who sell their unprocessed tobacco to Culbro and Consolidated and therefore have reduced costs, will also seek to hold their land until prices are right for sale. The small growers, who reputedly are the only ones tied to the land by sentiment, will probably stay in tobacco growing the longest. However, their labor requirements are small, so the future of employment in the shade tobacco industry is tied directly to the timetable of the larger companies.

B. Government Agents in the Puerto Rican Migrant Farm Labor System

The shade grown tobacco industry is a principal element in the system of Puerto Rican migratory farm labor in the Connecticut Valley. A second major element in this system is the supervisory role played by the Federal government and the governments of Puerto Rico, Massachusetts, and Connecticut in the recruitment, working, and living conditions of the farmworkers. The government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico plays a direct role in setting the conditions under which thousands of workers will travel from Puerto Rico to the Connecticut Valley to work on farms. Although it now professes not to encourage migration, and especially not for purposes of seasonal farm employment, that government has maintained for years a policy of promoting the search for job opportunities on the mainland. It has accepted migration to the United States mainland as a means for alleviating unemployment on the island for at least half a century.[14] It was not until 1948, however, that the island government created the Migration Division of the Department of Labor in order to formalize the policy of the government with regard to migration. The purpose of the Division, created under Insular Law No. 89 (1947), was twofold. One was to protect the Puerto Ricans who were migrating to the U.S. from exploitative employers who were recruiting cheap labor in Puerto Rico for agricultural, industrial, and service jobs. The other reason was to institutionalize a mechanism for the promotion of migration as a short-term measure against the conditions of overpopulation and underemployment which then, as now, affected the island. The role of the Department of Labor under the law was envisioned by an influential writer as follows:

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[14] Harvey S. Perloff, Puerto Rico's Economic Future: A Study in Planned Development (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950). This study seems to have been extremely influential on the Puerto Rican leaders of 1950. Jaime Benitez, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico and a leading thinker in the development of the Commonwealth, commented in the foreword to this book that "his original report, presenting his findings, has circulated among top executives and leaders in Puerto Rico and has already helpe to shape modifications and re-evaluations of existing structures and policies."

> In addition to serving in a protective capacity, it seems desirable that the Labor Department, together with insular agencies, expand existing programs: (a) in bringing labor-market information to prospective migrants; (b) in arranging for the recruitment of agricultural labor, household employees, and unskilled and semiskilled factory labor (working out and supervising regulations to govern the recruitment, transportation, working conditions, housing, etc.); (c) in making formalized arrangements with public and private employment agencies on the mainland and providing liaison personnel; and (d) in establishing training centers for prospective migrants, which might give courses in English, discuss problems of adjustment, explain rights and duties, and in other ways prepare migrants to make a satisfactory adjustment to a new and different environment.[15]

This model is very similar to the present-day Migration Division of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. The agency's role is fundamentally that of promoting and facilitating migration to the U.S. mainland by those persons experiencing adverse economic conditions on the Island. Within the Migration Division was created the Farm Labor Program, whose purpose was to place Puerto Ricans in agricultural employment on the mainland and protect their rights as workers and citizens during their employment. The Farm Labor Program currently has its central office in Puerto Rico and branch offices in New York City, Camden (N.J.), Hartford (Conn.), Boston, Newburgh (N.Y.), Cleveland, and Chicago. Among its functions are to interpret the farm labor contract negotiated between the employer and the Department of Labor, orient employers with regard to transportation of workers to and from Puerto Rico, and inspect farms and labor camps to insure contract standards. These functions are performed on behalf of nearly 50,000 farmworkers in eight states with an inadequate budget and a staff which is often below full strength. This situation has come under criticism in the Senate of Puerto Rico.[16]

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[15] Ibid.

Since 1948, the Commonwealth government has sought to match its migration policy with efforts to improve its protective measures for migrants. These measures have been violated to a lesser or greater degree since their inception, by farmers, labor recruiters, and other labor procurement sources.[17] In an attempt to remedy these problems, the legislature of Puerto Rico enacted Public Law 87 in 1962, requiring all contracts for the exportation of Puerto Rican workers to conform with standards promulgated by the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico. Among these standards are the following:

1. Approval of the migrants' stateside housing by a local board of health.
2. Pre-payment of transportation fare and payment of the return trip cost by the employer if the migrant completes his contract.
3. Posting of a performance bond by the employer, guaranteeing wages and travel funds for the worker.
4. Certification of Workmen's Compensation coverage.
5. Payment of minimum wages and guaranteed working conditions.

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[16] Senado de Puerto Rico, Comision Especial. "Informe Sobre investigacion de las oficinas de la Division de Migracion y las condiciones de vida y trabajo del trabajador agricola migrante" (San Juan: Senate of Puerto Rico, 1972).

[17] Commonwealth of Massachusetts Legislative Research Council, "Report Relative to Migratory Labor" (Boston: May 1967).

Public Law 87 gives the Secretary of Labor sweeping powers over the recruitment of Labor in Puerto Rico and the conditions of agreements for the exportation of Puerto Rican labor to mainland farms. It is certain that the law was enacted in order to correct scandalous abuses by unscrupulous employers and labor contractors. It is also possible, however, that the law was enacted in part as an attempt to stem the flow of farm hands from Puerto Rico's agricultural areas, by giving the Secretary of Labor strict control over who is eligible to recruit farm labor and how he may do so. In any event, under Public Law 87 the Secretary has the sole power for approving the conditions for contracting the services of Puerto Rican migrant laborers.[18] The exclusive authority of the Secretary to negotiate the farm labor contract, even in the absence of farmworker representatives, is presently being challenged in court by the Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas (A.T.A.), a group which seeks to represent the farmworkers and negotiate collectively with the employers. Regardless of the provisions of the law, violations of the farm labor contract often go unnoticed by the Migration Division, which acknowledges its shortage of resources to adequately supervise employer compliance with the contract. The Division points out correctly that Puerto Rico is the only state that extends coverage of its law to its workers laboring in other areas and seeks their well-being through the social services offered by the Migration Division. However, farmworkers have no part in the promulgation or enforcement of the laws of the contract purporting to guard them, with the result that they are essentially as much at the mercy of the inefficiencies of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor as they may be at the whim of unsympathetic employers.

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[18] Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Public Law #87, Section 3.

Many of the provisions incorporated into Puerto Rican law and into the Puerto Rican farm labor contract are a reflection of the Federal statutes governing the employment of migratory farm labor. These provisions themselves reflect broad legislative mandates enacted since the 1930's for the purpose of protecting the manufacturing labor force. The major distinction between industrial legislation and its agricultural counterpart is the exclusion of farmworkers from numerous protections afforded the industrial worker. It may be said that the story of federal farmworker legislation has been that of attaining enactment on the coattails of measures protecting manufacturing workers and sponsored primarily by industrial labor advocates. One key reason for this is that industrial workers organized themselves early for political and labor action, while agricultural workers did not. Another reason is that, while the national mood has risen on a number of occasions during the last several decades against "big business" in manufacturing, producing legislation to protect the industrial worker, it has never, until recently, risen with a comparable measure of success against big business in agriculture. Instead, agriculture has been a preferred child of the federal government, and agricultural enterprises have grown prosperous on farm subsidies and on federal incentives originally designed for small farmers to organize themselves to further their interests. The result of this blanket protection of agricultural interests has been that much federal legislation protecting the industrial worker specifically excludes protection of the agricultural worker. Nevertheless, farm labor has managed to receive coverage under a number of federal laws aimed in the main at the industrial worker.[19]

The Fair Labor Standards Act, a milestone in labor legislation which regulates work hours and wages, went into effect in 1938. It was not until 1966 that its coverage was extended to farmworkers. The Act currently guarantees the industrial worker a minimum hourly wage of $1.60. Agricultural workers are guaranteed $1.30 per hour. Farmworkers are also eligible for time and one half overtime pay under the Act, as are industrial workers, but only if the employer utilized more than five hundred man days of labor during any quarter of the preceding year. If the worker labored in certain industries, such as lumbering and tobacco, he is totally excluded from coverage under the wage provisions of the act.[20] No change in the minimum pay provisions may be made without an amendment to the Act. The F.L.S.A. does make illegal the employment of children under sixteen years of age in agriculture, but only during the school year and in the child's school district. During the summer months, thousands of children work alongside adults in the migrant stream. And since many migrant children are not enrolled in the upstream school districts, they often work during the Spring and Fall months during which other children are attending school. In short, the F.L.S.A. provides only minimal protection for farmworkers.

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[19] United States Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, Federal and State Statutes Relating to Farmworkers (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[20] Ibid., p. 107.

The Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970 offers farmworkers more equitable coverage. Working and housing conditions of farmworkers are governed under this act, which gives the Secretary of Labor the authority to promulgate standards for the safety and sanitation of living and working conditions of industrial and farm workers. These standards include provisions for the arrangement of sleeping, dining, and lavatory facilities, and other instructions promoting minimum health and safety practices. Routine supervision of compliance with these regulations is delegated to the states, which in turn often delegate responsibility to local Boards of Health. At this point protection often breaks down, since local officials are sometimes hesitant to implement the punitive provisions of the Act against local farmers and agribusinesses.

The Wagner-Peyser Act governs the interstate recruitment and transportation of labor, including that of farmworkers. This act authorizes the U.S. Employment Service to maintain farm placement services through the State Employment System and to set standards for the use of this system, including minimum housing standards and provisions for payment of wages at the rate prevailing in the area where the agricultural work is performed. It is under the Wagner-Peyser Act that Puerto Rican farmworkers are recruited in Puerto Rico through the local offices of the Department of Labor and brought to Massachusetts and Connecticut. Under this arrangement, when an agricultural employer needs farm labor, he must request such manpower from the local Employment Service office. The local office must first seek to employ residents of its area. If it cannot meet the demand, it turns to the State Employment Service, which can request, once its own resources have been exhausted, that workers be brought in from another region. In the case of Connecticut and Massachusetts, this request is made of the Regional Office of the Department of Labor in Boston. Boston in turn makes a request of Region II in New York, which includes Puerto Rico. The Boston office then processes a clearance order through the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, which announces the job opportunities in New England through its local offices and orients interested persons as to the conditions of employment. These conditions, under Public Law 87, must conform with the aforementioned standards promulgated by the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico.

Although this process is designed to maintain a high level of employment and of wages in a given work area by making sure all available local labor is utilized, it seems to be used in Massachusetts and Connecticut as a permanent vehicle for the recruitment of cheap labor from outside the area. The result of this particular institutionalization of the clearance system is that cheap labor is always available and there is no incentive to raise wages to a level which will attract local labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 is a landmark in the American trade union movement, guaranteeing the right of employees to organize themselves into unions and enter into collective bargaining with their employers. The law defines "employee," however, as specifically excluding agricultural workers, and provides that the money appropriated to implement the law may not be used to intervene in labor disputes in agriculture.[21] It is precisely the exclusion of farmworkers from this Act which have made more dramatic the efforts of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers to unionize the agricultural labor force, since agribusiness employers have specifically sought shelter in the Act to deny that the farmworkers have the right and should have the opportunity to organize themselves in unions.

Transportation of workers is regulated under the Interstate Commerce Act, which authorizes the Department of Transportation to set standards for the interstate transportation of migrants.[22] The Social Security Act provides for deductions by the employer of agricultural laborers, while the Internal Revenue Code excludes the collection of income taxes from agricultural workers. These two provisions have been pointed out to this writer by a number of farmworkers who express a preference for agricultural work over industrial employment.

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[21] Ibid., p. 117.

One major piece of Federal legislation excluding agricultural workers is probably the source of the greatest dissatisfaction among the Puerto Rican agricultural workers in the Connecticut Valley. The Federal Employment Tax Act excludes farmworkers from Unemployment Compensation. Employer advocates suggest that the seasonal nature of the work by necessity places the employer in a position of paying prohibitive unemployment taxes, and places the farmworker in an advantage over other workers. Farmworker advocates point out correctly that many industrial workers, particularly those engaged in the construction industry, are indeed seasonal workers, and that the only seasonal workers penalized by exclusion from Unemployment Compensation benefits are the farmworkers. The trend in recent years has been in favor of inclusion of farmworkers under these benefits, however, and bills to that effect have been debated in Congress. The universal opposition of farm employers, who would have to pay unemployment compensation taxes, has largely kept the measure from enactment. However, recent legislation did provide for the conduct of studies in a number of states on the impact of extending unemployment compensation to farmworkers, and these have shown that coverage is economically feasible. At this writing coverage has been extended to farmworkers on a temporary basis. The advantages to be derived by the farmworkers by permanent coverage under this law are obvious.

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[22] Ibid., p. 118.

Beyond the federal legislation which is purely protective in nature, there exists a number of federal projects and services for which the farmworker is eligible. Farmworkers were included in the Manpower Development and Training Act (M.D.T.A.), which provided vocational training services designed to help the farmworkers make a transition from seasonal to year-round employment. The Economic Opportunity Act (E.O.A.) extends a number of social and economic services to migrants, most of which are now sponsored by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (C.E.T.A.). The Emergency Employment Act extends to migrants' transitional, temporary employment in public service jobs and job training. State educational offices may apply for grants from the U.S. Office of Education, under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, for the purpose of establishing projects for meeting the special needs of migrants. Health Services to migrants are financed under the Public Health Service Act of 1962. Migrants are also eligible for the Food Stamp program, and for emergency welfare assistance under the Social Security Act. Most of these projects are extended to migrant farm workers in other parts of the country, although Puerto Rican migrants have access to programs operating in New England under the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Most of the legislation designed to protect or serve the farmworker is relatively recent. The climate of indifference or opposition to the needs of farmworkers has changed considerably during the last decade. It has been noted, in fact, that one of the major drawbacks to implementation of further legislation benefitting farmworkers is that reformers among the public and within farm labor organizations have failed to agree on a common strategy for legislative action. Instead, farm employer advocates, through the various growers' associations and lobbies, such as the Farm Bureau, have consistently marshalled enough forces to block major legislative enactments. The anti-farmworker influence of grower-oriented power brokers has been carefully documented in recent times.[23]

The Federal laws already described apply to all farmworkers in the United States. Beyond these enactments, most states have passed legislation which parallels federal statutes and in some instances covers areas not addressed by the federal legislation. Massachusetts and Connecticut are among these states which have on their books laws specifically applying to farmworkers. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts took an important legislative initiative in 1971, when the state guaranteed farmworkers the right to receive visitors in their living quarters without the consent of the owner-employer. Previous to the enactment of this measure, employers frequently invoked the trespass laws to determine who would visit the workers in their quarters, often barring admission to farmworker advocates and to valuable services to the migrants. The law gave the Superior Court the power to enforce access rights to the labor camps, and followed similar legislation in other states.

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[23] See Samuel Berger, Dollar Harvest: An Exposé of the Farm Bureau (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1971).

Other laws affecting farmworkers have been enacted in Massachusetts. In 1967, a minimum wage provision established a bottom hourly wage of $1.60 per hour, although the law does not provide for piece wage rates, which are a common method of determining agricultural wages. Also, the farmworkers are excluded from overtime pay on a time-and-a-half basis. The Commissioner of Labor and Industry is empowered to determine the value of the lodging occupied by the farmworkers, although in the case of the Puerto Rican worker the cost is determined by the farm labor contract, as is the hourly wage, which in 1974 was $2.15 per hour. Minors under 17 are exempt from the minimum wage law; minors under 14 are limited to four hours of work per day. These provisions in particular do not apply to the Puerto Rican migrant farm laborer, as he must be 18 years old in order to go to Massachusetts under the Puerto Rican farm labor contract, but they do cover the non-contract worker. Migrant housing in Massachusetts must be inspected by the Department of Public Health and a certificate of occupancy issued before the facilities may be used, under Article III of the State Sanitary Code. This code defines a wide range of standards, from the minimum size of beds to the structure of kitchen tables. The staff of the Department of Health assigned to the task of supervising compliance with Article III is limited, however, and maintenance of the facilities has been found to be insufficient or non-existent on some camps.[24]

As in the federal Labor Relations Act, farmworkers are excluded from the Massachusetts Labor Relations Act, and have no right to organize in unions and engage in collective bargaining. Efforts are currently under way to include Massachusetts farmworkers under that legislation. It may be said, in general, that under Massachusetts law farmworkers are just as much excluded from the legal protections that can mean for him a higher income or the opportunity to bid for an improvement in living and working conditions as they are under Federal law. As on the federal scene, the primary reason for this situation has been a combination of successful lobbying by grower interests and extreme disorganization on the part of farmworker advocates.

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[24] James Nash, Migrant Farm Workers in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations (Boston: Massachusetts Council of Churches, 1974).

Fundamentally, the same situation exists in Connecticut. During a legislative hearing in the Spring of 1974 on a bill to include farmworkers under the Connecticut State Labor Relations Act, a parade of opponents to the measure succeeded in killing it at the subcommittee level. The opponents included members of the Farm Bureau, the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, and poultry, dairy, and vegetable farmers. The main theme voiced by these representatives was a warning that Connecticut agriculture would collapse if farmers were forced to enter into collective bargaining and raise wages to a level where they could not compete with agriculture in neighboring states. This argument was coupled with warnings against the imminent loss of "green spaces" if farmers were forced out of business. Unlike Massachusetts, however, where the Governor's office was taking a neutral position on the issue, the administration of Governor Thomas Meskill turned out in force to oppose the bill, which had been promoted by the state AFL-CIO. Adding to the failure of the measure was the utter disorganization of many of the advocates for the measure, who displayed a singular degree of insensitivity to the procedures for helping a bill become law.

Connecticut agribusiness representatives and a number of state officials, especially under the administration of Governor Thomas Meskill, have asserted that Connecticut is more progressive in its overall treatment of farmworkers than are most other states. The growers and some officials go to the extent of stating that there are no migrant farmworkers in Connecticut, but only seasonal workers flown in from high unemployment areas in Puerto Rico to work for enlightened corporate farmers and benign family growers. The fact is that Connecticut's legal provisions for farmworkers are no more extensive than are the provisions of most other states. The state's statutes exclude farmworkers from protection as much as do other states, with the exception of Workmen's Compensation, which must cover all workers in the states and which is guaranteed under the Puerto Rican contract anyhow. And while Connecticut does establish a minimum wage for farmworkers, the rate does not attract the relatively high number of unemployed Connecticut adults, which virtually guarantees the necessity for importing cheap outside labor. The state does regulate, however, the minimum interval at which a worker must be paid: once a month. Also, agricultural labor is exempt from rules governing the maximum work hours an employee may be requested to work in agriculture. This situation is covered by the Puerto Rican contract, which states that a worker may not be required to work more than forty hours weekly. Connecticut child labor laws provide that a minimum age for employment is 14 years of age, an improvement over most states and over federal law. The

Public Health Council of the State Deparment of Health is charged with developing criteria for field sanitation, and the Commission on Agriculture, Conservation, and Natural Resources is authorized to make regulations concerning the standard of living quarters for migrants. These standards generally conform to the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act provisions. As in Massachusetts, state officials lament a lack of staff for proper supervision of field and housing conditions, with the result that a similar laxity with regard to maintenance and repair of facilities is evident in a number of camps in Connecticut. Like all other states, Connecticut is excused from compulsory coverage of farmworkers under Unemployment Compensation, although provisions for voluntary coverage do exist.

In addition to the legislative initiatives concerning farmworkers, the state of Connecticut has developed a Migrant Affairs Division within the State Department of Community Affairs, for the stated purpose of coordinating services to migrants in that state. To date, however, the activities of that Division have been limited to a small research project in southern Connecticut. Moreover, the Department of Community Affairs, as a relatively new branch of the state bureaucracy, and one which is often charged with ethnic minority affairs, has a low status within the state administration. For this reason, its potential for bringing about significant change for farmworkers may be easily outweighed by the opposition of other state departments, such as the Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce Departments, which have traditional grower leanings.

In summary, it may be said that this chapter has sought to present a description of selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. This system was established as a result of the labor needs of the Connecticut Valley shade-grown tobacco industry, a traditional enterprise of the area which is currently dominated by large agribusiness interests. The system has developed over the course of more than twenty years, and provides for the transportation of migrants to and from the Valley and for the utilization of their labor resource. It also calls for the provision of some fundamental protection of the migrants as workers and citizens.

It was found that the principal measures protecting migrants in this system were those implemented by the Federal Government and by the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, although some Massachusetts and Connecticut statutes also benefit migrants. The most comprehensive protective mechanism was found to be the farm labor contract negotiated between the farm labor employers and the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. However, an examination of the process by which the labor contract is negotiated and enforced revealed that the farmworkers themselves had virtually no voice in determining the conditions of their life and work on the mainland farms. It may be broadly concluded from this examination that, whatever its benefits, the current labor contract process in effect reduces migrants to the status of a commodity, exchanged between the growers and the Puerto Rican government under the supervision of Federal and state law.

In order to further examine the situation of Puerto Rican migrants in the Connecticut Valley, Chapter II of this study will deal with the background to the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers and with the demographic charactersitics of the migrants.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND TO THE MIGRATION OF PUERTO RICAN FARMWORKERS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY

A. Background to the Migration of Puerto Rican Farmworkers

The arrival of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland represents a recent wave in the succession of migrations to the United States by laborers and their families seeking economic opportunity. Like the Italians, Irish, and Jews that preceded them in the cities of the Northeast, Puerto Ricans moved initially into traditionally immigrant neighborhoods, worked at low level jobs, and began to loosen their bonds with the island culture after the first generation. Unlike these groups, Puerto Ricans have been able to travel to the mainland with relatively few restrictions, for two principal reasons: the availability of modern, low cost air transportation, and a common citizenship with the U.S. These factors have contributed to a rapid as well as a large scale migration since World War II. At this point, the number of Puerto Ricans on the mainland is estimated at 1.2 million, or about one third of the total current population of Puerto Rico. This community is the product of a process of migration which began at the turn of the current century and continues to this day. Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers travelling to the Connecticut Valley are but part of this overall migrant community.

The migration of groups of Puerto Ricans to the mainland began after the United States took possession of Puerto Rico in 1898, during the Spanish American War. At first, migration took the form of the recruitment of Puerto Rican agricultural laborers by mainland enterprises. Although available migration records date back only to 1908, it is reported that in 1901 a ship arrived in Puerto Rico to recruit workers for the sugar cane fields of Hawaii, and that over 1,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the Pacific at that time. By 1913, Puerto Rican farmworkers began to appear on farms in California, presumably as an offshoot of the islanders who migrated to Hawaii. In 1926, it is recorded that 1,500 Puerto Rican workers were in Arizona, accompanied by their wives and children.[1]

The involvement of the government of Puerto Rico in migration dates at least to 1919, when legislation was enacted conferring on the Puerto Rico Department of Agriculture and Labor authority to approve conditions under which the island workers would be contracted to work on mainland farms. This legislation was amended in 1939 to transfer administration of the supervisory functions to the Department of Labor. Migration increased during the 1920's and 1930's, and the Puerto Rican "Barrio" (Neighborhood) in East Harlem began to grow alongside the Italian and Black sections of upper Manhattan. Travel to the mainland at that time was effected by means of steamship, and those Puerto Ricans who made the crossover to the mainland and later returned to the island were colloquially referred to as "Marine Tigers," after a cargo and passenger ship that frequently made the New York-San Juan voyage.

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[1] "Antecedentes a la migracion puertorriquena" (New York: Migration Division of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico). Mimeographed.

After World War II commercial aviation was extended to Puerto Rico on a full scale, and Puerto Ricans began to travel to the mainland in increasing numbers to seek employment in urban centers requiring large numbers of unskilled and semiskilled labor. In 1946 and 1947, through efforts of employment agencies, 500 young women were recruited to work in homes in Chicago, and 430 men to work on farms in New Jersey. Numerous abuses of these workers were reported, and the government of Puerto Rico moved to amend the existing regulatory legislation. The result was the enactment of Public Law #25, requiring that an orientation be given to Puerto Ricans traveling to work or settle on the mainland as to conditions there. In 1948 the Migration Division of the Department of Labor was created, not only for the stated purpose of increasing protection to Puerto Rican migrants but also to expedite the process of migration by advertising mainland job opportunities and referring departing Puerto Ricans to its offices on the mainland for resettlement assistance. Nevertheless, abuses of laborers continued. In 1952, several hundred workers were left stranded by a bankrupt farm employer in Michigan, without food, shelter, or money to return to the island. The new Commonwealth government resorted to airlifting the farmworkers back to the island, where they were given emergency assistance. Incidents such as these gained public attention in Puerto Rico, and led the government to become further involved in the process of migration by means of protective legislation, including a measure prohibiting the private recruitment of Puerto Rican labor and another authorizing the Department of Labor to negotiate farm labor contracts with agricultural employers on behalf of the island farmworkers.

Through 1945, Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland at the rate of approximately 4,000 per year. After the Second World War the rate of migration increased, and it is reported that in 1953 69,000 persons left the island. An economic recession on the mainland reduced this number to 21,000 in 1954, but by 1955 migration climbed to 51,000 persons, and continued at this rate through the 1950's. During the 1960's the migration rate out of the island gradually declined, and a cross current of migration developed, with retired and working age Puerto Ricans returning to the island in search for alternatives to life and work in the decaying mainland cities. This crosscurrent of migration has continued to the present, shifting as the job demands on the mainland and on the island rise and fall. The search for jobs on the mainland and on the island has created a migrant labor force, composed largely of unskilled and semiskilled laborers. Migrant farmworkers fall within this group of migrants. Many of the migrants working in agriculture in the Connecticut Valley have lived and worked in mainland cities a number of times and have alternated between industrial and agricultural work on the mainland and in Puerto Rico. The constant migration of this unskilled segment of Puerto Rican society has brought about a number of serious sociological problems, as has been shown in Oscar Lewis' La Vida.

The immediate cause of the process of migration has been the search for employment, assisted by the promotion of migration on the part of the Puerto Rican government ostensibly as a means of helping unemployed Puerto Ricans find jobs. There is also evidence that the government has encouraged migration as part of its overall plan for the economic development of the island.[2] Puerto Rico at present contains approximately 800 persons per square mile, compared with Cuba's population density of 140 persons per square mile and the Dominican Republic's of 159. The current annual growth rate of the population is two per cent, at which rate the population will double in the next thirty-five years. This growth rate carries with it a burden on the island's efforts to achieve a higher standard of living for all its residents.[3] Planners of the island's economic development indicated in the late

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[2] The Migration Division has recognized the key role of migration in the Puerto Rican economy in designing its programs. See Appendix 1, "Migracion puertorriquena a los Estados Unidos," a report on Migration Division strategy (mimeographed).

[3] Perloff, p. 189. Also Antonio J. Gonzales, Economica Politica de Puerto Rico, p. 37.

1940's that, rather than rely solely on the economic maxim that an increase in the standard of living will bring down the family size and thus the overall population, allowing for further economic growth, the government should simultaneously attack the high birth rate and economic underdevelopment. An active family planning program was envisioned, which has met with relative success during the last several years and has been implemented through the community based public health clinics throughout the island. Exportation of the industrially unskilled and unemployed work force was seen as another key to the solution of both high population density and unemployment. Steps toward relocating the unemployed work force have been taken on a continuing basis for at least twenty-five years. One step toward that purpose was taken after World War II, when Puerto Rico secured from the Civil Aeronautics extraordinarily low air fares between the island and the principal mainland cities (hence the $45 New York-San Juan air fare, which was in effect for a number of years). Another was the creation of the Migration Division of the Department of Labor, which provided information regarding jobs and an array of resettlement services. By providing the opportunity and the vehicle for thousands of Puerto Ricans to secure mainland jobs, the Division in effect primed the pump of migration and contributed directly to the enormous rates of departure during the 1950's and 1960's. The theoretical rationale for the promotion of migration was laid in 1950 by Harvey S. Perloff, one of the most influential technicians of the Commonwealth's first government.[4] A model presented by Dr. Perloff of an effective mechanism for the promotion of migration at that time follows closely the characteristics of the present day Migration Division, whose officials take pains to point out that the government "neither encourages nor discourages migration."[5]

The root cause of the search for employment on the mainland by island poor, and the reason behind the government's promotion of migration, was the mismanagement of the island's agricultural economy between the years 1898 and 1930, specifically by means of the displacement of a mixed subsistence-commercial agriculture in favor of the massive monoculture of sugar cane. This abrupt change in economic priorities set off a pattern of migration of the labor force within the island from the coffee, tobacco, and subsistence farming areas in the interior of the island to the sugar cane growing areas along the coastal plain surrounding the island. The collapse of the sugar cane monoculture after 1928 had as its result widespread unemployment, further social dislocation, and a concentration of the unemployed labor force in the towns and urban areas, whence migration to the mainland took place after World War II.

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[4] Harvey S. Perloff, Puerto Rico's Economic Future: A Study in Planned Development (Chicago: University Press, 1950).

[5] This claim has been made repeatedly by the current Secretary of Labor, Dr. Luis Silva Recio (see "Gobierno P.R. insiste que todo migrante boricua venga a E.U. protegido por contrato," New York: El Diario-La Prensa, August 7, 1973). See articles in the Hartford (Conn.) Courant: "Puerto Rican migration is urged in comic book," and "Softer sell is being used in migrant recruitment," April 16, 1974. See also Carlos Varo, Puerto Rico: Radiografia de un Pueblo Asediado. Rio Piedras (Puerto Rico: Ediciones Puerto, 1973.

There is evidence that previous to the American invasion in 1898 Puerto Rico was suffering from a colonial economy which clearly favored Spain, and had so for four hundred years. Immediately after the Spanish colonization of the island in the early 1500's, the island economy was geared toward two purposes: the mining of gold, which was the principal venture of the Spaniards in the New World at that time; and the maintenance of a military establishment designed to protect the traffic of gold between the New World and Spain. As time went one, the island, which served as a stopping place to colonizers on the way to Central and South America, developed a subsistence agriculture as settlements began to grow in various parts of the coast and the interior. After 1750 the emergence of trade, public works, and the commercial agriculture of sugar is reported, although the island continued to be governed by the military, and commerce remained firmly in the hands of the Spanish mercantile establishment. Further development of the island economy took place after 1800, assisted by a trend in the Spanish empire toward greater autonomy of the colonies. In 1812 the Spanish Cortes, or Parliament, approved a new constitution and made it effective in Puerto Rico, abolishing the status of Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects and granting them full Spanish citizenship. Customs offices were opened on the island, machinery was imported duty-free, and migrants poured in from the Canary Islands and Spain. A lottery, a newspaper, and social activity developed, and government income tripled. Further development was set back by a return to absolutist colonial government under Ferdinand VII, but the Crown in 1815 granted the island a royal decree (Cedula de Gracias) with measures to encourage the economy. Immigrants were offered tracts of land, Spanish citizenship after five years of residence, free traffic was allowed to Spain and other friendly nations, and tools were allowed to be imported duty free.

After 1830 the commercial agriculture of sugar and coffee on a relatively large scale was introduced. Gradually acreage of this commercial agriculture grew, and subsistence agriculture decreased, while dependence on imported food staples increased. Toward the end of the century, approximately two thirds of the arable land on the island was given over to commercial agriculture. During the sixty year period from 1830 to 1890 the population grew from 330,000 to 953,000, tripling within 67 years, and placing further dependence on imported food. Spain discouraged the establishment of manufacturing industries by the imposition of high import duties on raw materials and industrial equipment and by retaining privileged nation status in trade. By 1895, 50% of the island imports, and 95% of its exports, were agricultural products. "By the time of the Spanish American War," one writer comments, "the Puerto Rican economy had already taken the classical mold of a colonial economy."[6]

NATURE AND VALUE OF PUERTO RICAN AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS, 1895[7]

CROP	POUNDS	DOLLAR VALUE
Coffee	40,000,000	$9,200,000
Sugar	132,000,000	3,900,000

In 1895, coffee and sugar comprised 85% of all Puerto Rican exports.

There is strong evidence to suggest that a colonial economy existed in Puerto Rico before 1898. However, there is also indication that this was a balanced agricultural economy in comparison with that of the post-1898 era, and that this economy possessed a well-established European orientation which would be truncated after the U.S. invasion in favor of North American business interests.

As was suggested above, Puerto Rico had developed economically, socially, and politically during the 19th century. The emphasis of commercial agriculture was placed on coffee, which produced more than twice the revenue of sugar and which enjoyed the protection of Spanish tariffs and an extensive market in Cuba, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The island also enjoyed an important export production of sugar, molasses, and tobacco, as well as cattle, maize, hides, fruits and nuts, and distilled spirits. The island moreover produced approximately 60% of its own food near the end of the Spanish rule. The import market was not limited to Spain, but also included the United States, the United Kingdom and its possessions, Germany, Cuba, and France. The export market was equally diversified, although both were under the control of Spanish trading interests. Banking and currency remained undeveloped and dependent on Europe until the North American occupation.

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[6] Perloff, p. 15.

[7] Ibid., p. 19.

The North American occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898 brought with it the total dislocation of the existing Puerto Rican economy. The main factor in this dislocation was the commercial invasion of the island on the heels of the military occupation by American businessmen who operated freely under the laissez-faire business policy then prevalent in the U.S. government. The U.S. business interests freely exploited the politically abject island by manipulating the Congress and the Federal agencies in charge of the new territory in order to obtain business concessions. The impact of the new American rule was profoundly felt in all the crucial areas of the economy. U.S. currency was introduced and the mainland banks took over the principal commercial transactions. American shipping interests displaced those of Spain, and the U.S. tariff system replaced the Spanish. This particular move dealt a fatal blow to coffee, the chief export product of th island. It no longer enjoyed the protection of the Spanish tariff system, and, since the U.S. did not produce coffee itself, it did not offer the protection of its own tariffs to Puerto Rican coffee. The result was that the island was placed in a competitive position in the U.S. market with South American coffee, which was preferred in the American market for its lower price even though its quality was inferior to the Puerto Rican product. The high cost of the Puerto Rican coffee in the mainland market was, moreover, influenced by the high cost of shipping in American vessels, which enjoyed a monopoly in Puerto Rico. The coffee industry in Puerto Rico went into a decline. This decline was accentuated by various other influences: a disastrous hurricane, which destroyed the island's coffee crop in 1899; World War I, which cut off the European market; and the almost total neglect of U.S. business interests on the island, which were totally absorbed in the development of a vast, technological, mainland-controlled sugar cane industry.[8]

The development of the U.S. sugar cane latifundia progressed rapidly after the occupation of the island. By 1900 it is reported that numerous U.S. business syndicates were seeking to take over huge land holdings in Puerto Rico, and banking, railroad, and telegraph interests were also seeking lucrative concessions from the Congress.[9] The next thirty years witnessed the nearly complete takeover of the economy by U.S. interests. By 1930, the degree of absentee ownership by American corporations of public utilities was 60%; of tobacco production, 80%; of sea shipping, nearly 100%. Nearly 60% of the capital in commercial banks operating in Puerto Rico was owned outside the island, as was 95% of the capital of foreign banks and 26% of local banks. With regard to sugar, it is reported that in 1930 four large U.S. corporations and their allied interests owned and operated 46% of all the sugar cane land on the island, which at that time covered a considerable geographic area. These interests had consolidated sugar cane holdings during the thirty year period, buying out family plantations and small farms which could not bear the competition with U.S. capital. Consolidation of the land holdings was the first step in the technological revolution of commercial agriculture which was introduced in the island. The development of large, mechanized sugar mills, strategically located to process the sugar cane brought in by truck and oxcart from the far-flung plantations, was another. A third was the intensive and extensive cultivation of sugar cane, so that hilly areas formerly used for tobacco and coffee and former pasture areas, often immediately adjoining towns, were taken over by the plantations.[10]

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[8] For further analysis of this situation, see Antonio J. Gonzales, La Economía Política de Puerto Rico, 3d. ed., pp. 30-35.

[9] Gordon K. Lewis, Puerto Rico: Libertad y poder en el Caribe (Puerto Rico: Editorial Edil, 1970), p. 121.

The elimination of the coffee and tobacco business, the buying out of family plantations and small farms, and the establishment of the sugar cane latifundia had a profound social effect on the island population. First, employment in commercial agriculture in the hilly areas declined sharply with the drop in the coffee and tobacco businesses. Secondly, the displacement of subsistence agriculture by the sugar cane plantations sharpened the island's dependence on imported foodstuffs, which in turn further discouraged the growing of food on the island and reduced the availability of a diversity of food products sufficient to meet the needs of a large population. Thirdly, the traditional personal and family relationship between the owners and managers of the family plantations and their employees was replaced with a new and impersonal corporate relationship. This situation became acute as employment on the island grew to be limited to sugar cane cutting and processing. Migration from the hills to the coast began, and a class of sugar cane workers emerged, who were housed in shacks at the edges of the plantations, were subject to minimal wages, depended on the sugar industry for their livelihood, and who, in many instances, "owed their soul to the company store." The social dislocation brought on by the establishment of the sugar cane plantations has been thus described:

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[10] Ibid.

> La disolución, especialmente, de las empresas de la región montañosa convirtió al granjero e inquilino de las altiplanicies cada vez mas en emigrantes que acudían a la costa en busca de trabajo, y el proceso, ya iniciado antes del 1898, fue acelerado por la rapida decadencia de la produccion cafetalera a partir de esta fecha. . . . Aún por el 1930, mucho antes de la emigración en masa hacia los Estados Unidos y antes del advenimiento del peor periodo de la depresion economica de la decada del 1930, la isla estaba luchando con el agravante problema de la urbanización excesiva, a medida que los campesinos

> afluían a las ciudades costeras; un temprano estudio de las condiciones de uno de los barrios mas pobres de San Juan indicaba que el 90 por ciento de sus residentes provenían de otras partes de la isla. El poblador flotante rural, que podía ser arrojado de su choza campesina a voluntad del terrateniente fue equiparado asi por el poblador flotante urbano, hacinado en las pocilgas de las ciudades costeras.[11]

The profound dislocation of the Puerto Rican society and economy by the military and commercial invasion of the island by the U.S. in 1898 was to take place once more, and on a larger scale, by means of the collapse of the sugar plantation economy in the 1930's. This second dislocation was characterized by "economic stagnation, business depression, mass unemployment, bankruptcies, and government handouts."[12] The population of the island continued to grow during the period of 1898 to 1940, assisted by the introduction of public health measures which reduced the death rate in half and by the regeneration of the population growth cycle of 1830-1890. This continued increase in population aggravated the economic crisis the island confronted after 1930, and was later identified as a prime target by the planners of the island's economic development, who saw migration as a mitigating factor in the population growth between 1900 and 1940 and who established the model for the Migration Division of the Department of Labor.

The postwar economic development of the island, stressing manufacturing, could not absorb the large numbers of unemployed and underemployed Puerto Ricans who had depended on agriculture for their livelihood and their social structure.[13] The expansion of manufacturing since the 1940's has, in fact, been accompanied by a sharp decline in agriculture of all kinds. In 1940, Puerto Rico's farms earned $70.5 million, or 31 percent of the island's net income. In 1969, net income was $175.5 million (dropping $10 million from the year before), which represented 5.2 percent of the economy's net income. Sugar cane, which occupied vast tracts of land during the first half of the century, suffered considerable drops in production during the 1950's and 1960's and in recent years has fallen far short of the Federally established annual quota of 1.3 million tons of sugar. The sugar cane labor force has dropped since 1950 from 148,000 to 14,000. Coffee production has also dropped significantly, and the industry now must rely on government subsidies. The contemporary social effect of these changes has been thus characterized:

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[11] Ibid., p. 130. Also, Antonio J. Gonzales, Economía Política de Puerto Rico, p. 148.

[12] Perloff, p. 26.

> The plight of fifty-year-old Ramon Mendez is shared by many men his age. He owns six acres of jagged hilltops and deep ravines in the northwest mountains. For years he supported his wife and six children by working half the year in nearby canefields belonging to the mill. His wages were $.60 an hour, together with the $300 yearly he earned from two acres of his own cane, plus a few hundred from selling fruits and vegetables during the "dead season," gave him $1,200 a year. On his own farm

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[13] For further discussion of this situation, see Antonio J. Gonzales, *Economía Política de Puerto Rico*, p. 142.

> he produced enough staples, such as eggs, chickens, plantains, bananas, peas and yams--and on special occasions, he slaughtered a hog--to survive. Three years ago, "When costs went up and sugar prices went down, I wound up owing the mill money!" The next year, the mill closed.
>
> Too old to adapt to factory work, he now plants a few crops on what was once cane land, gets an occasional day's work when a contractor builds a home nearby. He looks to the city, where he has never lived. He also thinks about migration to the United States (he has never been there and speaks no English) where he could earn $1.60 an hour picking tomatoes. But he hesitates to leave his wife and young children alone. He is too proud to go on relief. "These young fellows don't want to sweat the way I have," he says. His twenty-one-year-old son left the island three years ago, before finishing high school, and now drives a truck in New Jersey. His two younger sons, now in grade school, will also probably head for the cities when their time comes.
>
> Thus, the countryside is filled with women, young children, and old men (half of the farmers are forty-five years old or more, and 14 percent are past retirement age).[14]

The Puerto Rican migrant farmworker who travels to the Connecticut Valley, then, is following a migration process begun decades ago on the island largely as a result of two severe dislocations of the island economy, one in 1898 and another in the 1930's. This migration process has been assisted by an active government policy, exercised throughout this century and systematized after World War II, of promoting the exportation of those segments of the population it has decided it cannot support economically. As a complement to this exportation policy the government has claimed responsibility for protecting the laborers it has sought to relocate, by means of legislative action and by mechanisms such as the Migration Division. Its protective efforts with regard to migrant farmworkers have focused on legislation giving the Secretary of Labor the authority to represent the farmworkers in the negotiation of a labor contract with stateside employers. Supervision of the contract has been assigned to the Migration Division, whose field representatives inspect compliance with the contract on the farm labor site. However well intentioned the legislation designed to protect the farmworkers may seem, it has faced severe limitations in its implementation. For one, the government's protective policy has been designed and implemented as an adjunct to the principal goal of procuring employment on the mainland for unemployed Puerto Ricans, and has rarely been used to discourage the migration of laborers to a particular work site.[15] Farm labor employers in the Connecticut Valley have long been aware of this priority on the government's part and have repeatedly threatened not to employ Puerto Rican labor as a measure to gain concessions during the negotiations of the farm labor contract, during which, incidentally, farmworkers are not present. Secondly, the Puerto Rican government has not allocated sufficient resources to adequately advise and protect laborers recruited to work on the stateside farms. Low salaries for field supervisors have impeded the recruitment and maintenance of fully competent personnel. In the Hartford, Connecticut office of the Migration Division, one field supervisor and a secretary are charged with the responsibility of insuring compliance with the labor contract and the resolution of all problems and grievances on behalf of 6,000 farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley, aside from performing other functions for the Puerto Rican community residing in various Connecticut cities. The annual budget of the Migration Division is $1.1 million, earmarked for services to all the Puerto Ricans residing on the mainland as well as the 50,000 migrant farmworkers which annually travel from the island to work on the mainland from Florida to New Hampshire and Illinois. Such an inadequate allocation of resources and establishment of priorities has placed the Puerto Rican government in the position of promoting a migration process over which it exercises little salutary control.

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[14] Kal Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: A Profile* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 107.

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[15] Senado de Puerto, Comision Especial, op. cit.

Lastly, the government's migration policy, concentrating as it does on relocating those members of the population who lack industrial skills and who are chronically unemployed, singles out the island poor for exportation. These, perhaps not incidentally, are the people who upset the government's economic development plans by contributing most profusely to the island's high rate of population growth (poor families in Puerto Rico bear an average of 6.3 children, while families whose parents graduated from high school bear an average of 2.2 children). These are precisely the Puerto Ricans who, because of their lack of skills and what may be termed middle-class social mobility, are most subject to exploitation and economic stagnation on the mainland, where the island government cannot fulfill to any significant measure the protective role it has assigned to itself.

The fact that the Puerto Rican government has resorted to exporting its poor to the Connecticut Valley farms and other mainland locations, and that these poor are locked in a non-productive cycle of migration can be determined by studying the characteristics and living and working conditions of migrant farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley. Such a study will comprise the second part of this chapter.

B. Demographic Traits and Living and Working Conditions

The preceding section of this chapter sought to present a historical background to the migration of Puerto Rican workers to the mainland, both those employed in agriculture and those employed in industry. This section will focus on those Puerto Ricans who have migrated annually to the Northeast and specifically to Connecticut and Massachusetts to be employed on farms and to reside on farm labor camps. These workers generally travel to the Northeast in the Spring of each year and return to Puerto Rico in the Fall. Three principal aspects of this population have been selected for study.

Attention will be given first to the demographic traits of migrant farmworkers in selected states of the Northeast and in Connecticut and Massachusetts during the years 1969 to 1974. Two studies of this population will be primarily utilized for this purpose: the "Informe Sobre Investigación de Las Oficinas de la División de Migración y Las Condiciones de Vida y Trabajo del Trabajador Agrícola Migrante" ("Report on an Investigation of the Offices of the Migration Division and Living and Working Conditions of Migrant Farmworkers"), published by the Senate of Puerto Rico;[16] and the "Estudio de Viabilidad Económica y Social Para Establecer una Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito entre los Migrantes Agrícolas Puertorriqueños en Nueva Inglaterra" ("Study on the Economic and Social Feasibility of Establishing a Credit Union Among the Puerto Rican Migrant Farmworkers in New England"), prepared by Dr. Martin Hernandez-Ramirez for the Cooperative Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.[17] The purpose of this analysis is to ascertain the common demographic characteristics of Puerto Rican migrants in the Northeast.

Secondly, this section will examine the conditions of life and work of migrant farmworkers in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, for the purpose of determining the overall conditions of life and work experienced by Puerto Rican farmworkers in the Northeast. Information for this examination will be drawn from the aforementioned study of the Senate of Puerto Rico and from four separate studies conducted on this subject in the Massachusetts and

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[16] Ibid.

[17] San Juan, Puerto Rico: Administración de Fomento Cooperativo.

Connecticut area.[18] Additional information for this segment will be drawn from the author's observations and from newspaper articles and other publications.

1. Demographic characteristics of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in selected Northeast states and in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The Report of the Special Commission of the Senate of Puerto Rico investigating the Migration Division of the Department of Labor and the living and working conditions of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers presents an analysis of the characteristics of 1,566 Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in the states of New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, Florida, Delaware, and "other states."[19] The analysis is taken from a study made in 1969-1970 by the "Northeast Farm Labor Research Technical Committee" of the Land Grant Universities of the Northeast, and is the source of the statistics presented here regarding the charactersitics of Puerto

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[18] Legislative Research Council, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Report Relative to Migratory Labor," 1967 (mimeographed); Stuart Lefkowich and William Faraclas, "Migrant Health in Connecticut: An Interim Report" (Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Community Affairs, 1974), mimeographed; James Nash, "Migrants in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations" (Boston: Massachusetts Council of Churches, 1974); Tufts University, Department of Political Science, "Conditions of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," 1971 (mimeographed).

[19] This Commission set out to make its investigation after a series of newspaper articles appeared in Puerto Rico decrying deplorable conditions in mainland labor camps and claiming the Migration Division was not performing an adequate job of protecting the farmworkers. A Catholic Bishop, Rev. Arturo Parrilla, played an active role in bringing the issue of the migrants to the public eye.

Rican migrant farmworkers. The source of information regarding workers in Massachusetts and Connecticut is the feasibility study for a credit and savings cooperative for farmworkers performed by Dr. Martin Hernandez-Ramirez and covering 112 migrant farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley.

The following demographic characteristics were selected for study: age, marital status, family size, schooling, and home ownership. In addition, information is presented pertaining to the place of origin in Puerto Rico of the farmworkers interviewed in the Hernandez study. It is the author's belief that these selected characteristics offer a valuable indication of the socioeconomic background of the farmworkers.

TABLE 1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in
Northeastern states, 1970 and 1973

	Northeast, 1970[a]	Mass. & Conn., 1973[b]
Age	29.7	30
Married	39.0%	45.5%
Family size	4.3	4.8
Schooling (grade)	5.8	6.8
Home owners	32.0%	49.1%

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[a] Senado de Puerto Rico, Comisión Especial, "Informe sobre investigación de las oficinas de la Division de Migracion y las condiciones de vida y trabajo del trabajador agrícola migrante" (San Juan, 1972).

[b] Martin Hernandez-Ramirez, "Estudio de viabilidad económica y social para establecer una cooperativa de ahorro y credito entre los migrantes agricolas puertorriqueños en Nueva Inglaterra" (San Juan: Cooperative Development Administration, 1974).

The average age of the farmworkers in both studies tended to be approximately the same. The Senate study indicates the age range to be from 16 to 65. The Hernandez study applies to contract workers, whose minimum age is 18, and presents an age range from 18 to 60 years. Both figures suggest that the farmworkers are of prime working age. Less than half of the workers reported being married, but this percentage may be higher, as cohabitation and common law marriage is not infrequent among the economically disadvantaged in Puerto Rico.[20] Family size has been reported as approximately the same in both studies. Dr. Hernandez points out that his figure refers to the number of dependents, not including the wife, so that the total size of the farmworker's immediate family may be estimated at 6 persons, which coincides with island statistics on the size of low income families.[21] This figure gains significance when compared to the relatively low age of the farmworkers.

The level of schooling attained by the farmworkers can serve as a significant indication of their ability to secure and maintain permanent jobs in the increasingly industrialized economy of the island. The 1970 Senate study determined the average schooling to be 5.8 years, and the Hernandez study to be 6.8 years. While these figures are close and suggest at least a minimum level of literacy and other skills, this educational level places farmworkers far from a competitive position in the Puerto Rican job market. Five percent of the farmworkers in the Senate study had completed high school. The Hernandez study indicates that twenty-five percent of those interviewed had attended high school, and eleven percent graduated. The reason for which these particular persons entered migrant farm labor is not indicated, but it is commonly known that there were large numbers of unemployed high school graduates in Puerto Rico at the time of these studies, and competition for the most menial industrial jobs is still high. These particular farmworkers may therefore be victims of the high unemployment rate on the island, which is officially estimated at eleven percent of those able and willing to work and unofficially at thirty percent overall including underemployment, and up to fifty percent in the rural areas, where most farmworkers originate.[22]

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[20] This is still common in the rural area, where "llevarse una muchacha" (elope with a girl) often substituted the marriage ceremony. See Maria Teresa Babín, Panorama de la cultura puertorriquena (New York: Las Americas, 1958), p. 115.

[21] Wagenheim, op. cit., p. 170.

Home ownership is a significant indicator of the farmworkers' economic solvency and social stability. The rural poor in Puerto Rico have received small homes and parcels of land on a broad scale during the last twenty years through a number of government programs. The Senate study indicates that one third of the farmworkers interviewed owned their homes in Puerto Rico, and the Hernandez study establishes home ownership at nearly forty-seven percent. Thirty-two percent in the second study rented their homes, and twenty percent lived in homes owned by another person ("agregado"). The quality of the housing was not discussed in either study, but the income statistics presented below and the figures relating to family size discussed above suggest that the quality of the housing may well lie below the Puerto Rican standard.

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[22] Interview with Aurelio Segundo, Rural Manpower Administrator of the Puerto Rico Department of Labor, 1974.

It has been suggested earlier that the migration process in Puerto Rico was very evident in the interior of the island and was directed successively toward the inland towns, the coastline, the cities of the island, and the mainland. Seventy-five percent of the farmworkers interviewed in the Hernandez study indicated that they came to New England from the rural areas of Puerto Rico ("campo"), while nearly twenty-five percent said they were from the island towns ("pueblo"). Dr. Hernandez states that the majority of the workers "bring with them the experiences and culture of the Puerto Rican rural areas." Figures will be presented below indicating that these farmworkers and those discussed in the Senate study have migrated to the mainland repeatedly, and that more than three-fourths of the farmworkers in the Hernandez study expressed the intention of returning to New England as migrants. This suggests that migration seems to be an economic and social imperative for those interviewed. It should also be noted that nearly a fourth of the farmworkers described themselves as coming from the towns ("pueblo").

It is significant that these residents of towns and urban areas have found employment in migrant farmwork, in view of the widespread aversion to farm work expressed by young Puerto Ricans residing in urban areas who prefer to identify themselves with the industrialized sector of the Puerto Rican economy.[23]

There seem to be sufficient factors in the demographic makeup of the Puerto Rican farmworker to relegate him to the lowest strata of the current socioeconomic structure of Puerto Rico. Such factors as the inability to compete in an industrial job market because of low levels of schooling, together with the economic depression of their home areas in the interior of the island, have left virtually no choice for the Puerto Ricans described in this study but to migrate to mainland farms.

2. Living and working conditions. This section will present an analysis of various conditions of life and work of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in selected areas of the Northeast and in Massachusetts and Connecticut. A distinction will be made between contract and non-contract workers in Massachusetts and Connecticut, as the conditions to be studied vary significantly between the two groups. The following conditions have been selected for study: income, dependence on migrant farm labor for income, years of employ-

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[23] Wagenheim, p. 218. For a broader discussion of this topic, see Carlos Varo, Radiografía de un Pueblo Asediado (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Puerto, 1973).

ment in migrant farm labor, length of work day, physical conditions of agricultural work, housing, recreation, transportation, and farmworker attitudes toward their work. Sources for this discussion will include the aforementioned Study of the Puerto Rican Senate and the Hernandez survey; "Migrant Health in Connecticut," by Stuart Lefkowich and William Faraclas; "Report Relative to Migratory Labor," prepared by the Legislative Research Council, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1967; "Conditions of Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," prepared by the Department of Political Science, Tufts University, 1971 (mimeographed); and "Migrants in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations," performed in 1974 by James Nash for the Massachusetts Council of Churches, Boston. Additional information will be drawn from relevant books, periodicals, and newspaper accounts and from the author's personal observations of living and working conditions. It is the author's belief that this information will help identify common conditions experienced by Puerto Rican workers.

The study of the Senate of Puerto Rico states that the average income for the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers was $2,600 annually, with sixty-eight percent of that amount, or $1,768, earned in migrant farm labor and the rest in other employment, primarily during the non-agricultural season in Puerto Rico. Income for the year varied among those surveyed from $0.00 to $7,800, with thirty percent of the workers earning less than $2,000, thirty-three percent between

TABLE 2 INDIVIDUAL INCOME
Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers
in Northeastern states,
1970 through 1973

	Northeast[a] (1970)	Contract[b] Mass. Conn. (1973)	Non-Contract Mass.[c] (1973)	Non-Contract Conn.[d] (1974)
Hourly wage	...	1.90	1.90	2.04
Hours per week	...	48-54	48-54	61
Weekly wage	...	72.00		110.00
Length of employment (weeks)	...	20	20-24	28
Annual income	2,600	...	...	1,800.00

[a] Senado de Puerto Rico, Comisión Especial, op. cit.

[b] Hernandez-Ramirez, op. cit.

[c] James Nash, Migrants in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations (Boston: Mass. Council of Churches, 1974).

[d] Stuart Lefkowich and William Faraclas, "Migrant Health in Connecticut: An Interim Report" (Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Community Affairs, 1974), mimeographed.

$2,000 and $3,000, and the rest earning between $3,000 and $4,000. Concrete figures on annual income are not provided in the Hernandez or Nash studies, but it may be gathered from other data in those studies that earnings are approximately the same as of those interviewed for the Senate study. The Lefkowich-Faraclas report also coincides with the average figure of $1,800 for earnings during the course of the agricultural season. As the average hourly wage for workers in the Northeast is not given in the Senate study, it may be inferred from the table that it is approximately the same as the others. It should be noted that in 1974 the average hourly wage in the Connecticut Valley rose to $2.05 an hour, coinciding with the wages presented by Lefkowich and Faraclas.

The $72.00 weekly wage for contract workers in Connecticut and Massachusetts presented in the Hernandez study refers to net wages, after deductions for air transportation, food, group insurance coverage, Social Security, and other expenses. The $110 figure for Connecticut non-contract workers does not reflect food costs and other deductions which may be made by the employer. A more realistic net figure would be about $75, after the deduction of food costs, other necessities, and perhaps transportation from and to Puerto Rico.

It may be generalized that Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in the Northeast earn approximately the same total amount during an agricultural season. Differences among the various work sites therefore may lie less with wages than with living and working conditions, working hours, and in the job protection measures afforded to contract and non-contract workers. It may also be concluded from the duration of employment (approximately six months) and from the economically depressed environment of the migrants' home areas in Puerto Rico, that the wages presented above are the only source of income for most of the Puerto Rican migrants. Information provided elsewhere suggests that the workers surveyed earned incomes were well within the bottom third of the Puerto Rican family incomes as they were estimated in 1971.[24]

TABLE 3 YEARS OF EMPLOYMENT IN MIGRANT FARM LABOR
Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in
Northeastern states, 1970 through 1973

Northeast[a]	Contract[b] Mass.-Conn.	Non-Contract[c] Conn.
7.4	4.1	5.5

[a] Senado de Puerto Rico, Comisión Especial, op. cit.
[b] Hernandez-Ramirez, Martin, op. cit.
[c] Stuart Lefkowich and William Faraclas, op. cit.

It may be inferred from Table 3 that, on the average, Puerto Rican farmworkers have migrated to the mainland approximately 5.6 times. If the average age of those interviewed in the Senate study was 29.7 years, and if it is assumed that they began working at age 16, the difference (13.7 years) represents their average length of time in the work force. If the average number of years spent in farm labor is 7.4, then these persons have spent more than half their working lives as migrant farmworkers. The workers interviewed in Massachusetts and Connecticut have spent about a third of their adult lives as migrants. More than half of the farmworkers in these studies had worked for the same employer two or more years consecutively, and some had worked for the same employer more than twenty years. Many observers state that the effect of the farmworkers' repeated separation from their families has brought about damaging effects on their social structure. It is claimed that the prolonged and repeated absence of the father, the dominant figure in the Puerto Rican family, has stimulated adultery, divorce, delinquency, and other problems.[25] It is the author's belief, based on personal observation, that constant migration has created a predisposition on the part of a number of farmworkers to literally walk away from their personal problems and those of their families and community, and that the isolated life of the farm laborer, to be discussed in more detail below, is a chief cause of psychological problems. The psychosocial effects of migration and social change among Puerto Ricans have been studied in a number of valuable books.[26]

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[24] Andrés Sanchez-Tarniella, La Economía de Puerto Rico: Etapas en su Desarrollo (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Bayoan, 1972), p. 173. Also, Antonio J. Gonzales, Economía Política de Puerto Rico, pp. 134-42.

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[25] James Nash, op. cit., p. 18. Also, Carlos Varo , *Puerto Rico: Radiografía de un Pueblo Asediado*, Chapter 8.

[26] See Manuel Maldonado Denis, *Puerto Rico: una interpretación historico-social* (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno, 1973); Oscar Lewis, *La Vida* (New York: Random House, 1966); Sydney Mintz, *Worker in the Cane--A Puerto Rican Life History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960); German de Granda, *Transculturacion e Interferencia Linguística en el Puerto Rico Contemporaneo: 1898-1968* (Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1968); Lloyd H. Rogler and August B. Hollingshead, *Trapped: Families and Schizophrenia* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966); Melvin Tumin and Arnold S. Feldman, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico* (Princeton: University Press, 1961); Carlos Varo, *Puerto Rico: Radiografia de un Pueblo Asediado* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Puerto, 1973), Chapter 4.

Transportation of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers to Connecticut and Massachusetts, as well as to other areas of the Northeast, takes place by airplane. The cost of transportation to the work site is generally paid by the employer, as is the return trip for those workers who complete the terms of their verbal agreement or written contract with the employer. Beyond this, the method and terms of travel to and from the work site differ for contract and non-contract workers.

The employer of contract farmworkers pays the cost of transportation to the work site, then deducts this cost from the initial pay checks of the worker. At the completion of the contract, the employer reimburses the worker's trip to the work site and pays his ticket home. The contract provides for a work period ranging from 24 to 28 weeks, but fully seventy percent of the contract workers return home by their own volition before the end of this period. The usual stay is 10-13 weeks.[27] According to the farm labor contract, these departing workers forfeit reimbursement of their trip to the work site and must pay their way home, thereby losing about $160, or two weeks' pay. The employer in effect gains by this practice, as he succeeds in employing cheaper labor than that available in the area at no transportation cost to him. The 1974 farm labor contract provides that the employer will reimburse the worker at the rate of $10 per week after the midpoint of the contract period, thereby allowing the worker who leaves before the expiration of the contract the opportunity to recover part of the travel cost. However, if the average worker leaves after ten to thirteen weeks of a twenty-six week contract, the employer might still only pay $10 to $30 of the total fare.

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[27] Nash, op. cit., p. 22

Chapter 31, Section 30 of the Laws of Puerto Rico prohibits the private recruitment of migrant farm labor in Puerto Rico, including sending air tickets to workers, except through the contract process established by the Department of Labor. The Puerto Rican government patrols the airport in San Juan, confiscating pre-paid tickets of departing migrants and sometimes arresting recruiters.[28] Non-contract workers are nevertheless recruited on a large scale, through the mail or through experienced migrants who persuade relatives, friends and neighbors to leave the island without a contract. At present the contract covers approximately ten to twelve thousand workers, while the Migration Division estimates that thirty thousand or more workers leave the island annually without a contract.[29] Once the workers leave the island they are totally at the mercy of the employer for the conditions of the return trip and all other work guarantees. About twenty-five percent of the farmworkers in Massachusetts and ten percent of those in Connecticut come without contract. Some do because they have been persuaded by fellow migrants, others because they do not wish to go through the red tape of the contract process, and still others because they cannot obtain a health certificate or have a court case pending on the island and cannot come through the contract process.[30]

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[28] Conversation with Aurelio Segundo.

[29] "Gobierno P.R. insiste que todo migrante boricua venga a E.U. por contrato" (New York: El Diario-La Prensa, August 7, 1973).

Work hours in Massachusetts and Connecticut are approximately the same in tobacco, nurseries, and cranberries, the principal crops that employ Puerto Rican contract farmworkers. Work usually begins at seven in the morning and ends about five in the afternoon. The work day generally depends on the availability of sunlight and the work to be done. During the harvest months work may last twelve to fourteen hours per day. There is no time and a half pay for additional work hours, as there are no laws or sufficiently powerful unions to insure overtime pay for farmworkers. The contract workers in the Connecticut Valley are guaranteed work breaks and a lunch period during the day.

The physical conditions of migrant farm labor in Massachusetts and Connecticut may be described as arduous,[31] as it is elsewhere in the United States. Agriculture is rated among the most hazardous occupations. Farm accidents are a part of every season for the Puerto Rican migrants in Connecticut and Massachusetts, to the degree that Lefkowich and Faraclas report that ninety-two percent of the workers said they had suffered injuries or accidents during the year preceding their study. The Puerto Ricans arrive in the Connecticut Valley in March to clear away the snow from nurseries, fields, and seed beds. They work in the Spring rains and in the Summer heat under cheesecloth netting covering the crowded tobacco plants, which secrete an itch-causing resin. They unearth, pack, and transport heavy nursery bushes. The cranberry workers wade through watery bogs in the chill of Spring and Fall. In all cases, there is incessant bending, reaching, rising and carrying as part of the day's work. The Puerto Rican migrants usually do not operate farm machinery, which is largely reserved for the permanent employees or the farmer.

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[30] In order to travel out of Puerto Rico on the farm labor contract, the worker cannot have a pending court case.

[31] Kenneth Hoadley, "The Connecticut Valley Shade Tobacco Industry."

Housing facilities for Puerto Rican migrants in Massachusetts and Connecticut, whether they be contract or non-contract workers, generally possess three common characteristics: they are provided free of charge; they offer little if any privacy to the resident; and they are physically and culturally isolated from the communities in the vicinity of the labor camp.[32] These last two conditions are prime objects of farmworker complaints. They will be discussed below together with other aspects of life on the farm labor camps.

The report of the Senate of Puerto Rico indicates that conditions in Puerto Rican migrant labor camps range from dismal to excellent. On one hand there are facilities such as the Jill Brothers Farm in New Jersey, which the Senate study describes as a "pathetic picture with regard to working and living conditions." The personal quarters are small, sleeping cots are "totally inadequate," and a small bathing and toilet facility is shared by all and was found to be in "deplorable" condition. A "quite dilapidated" hall housed the dining and recreation facilities, which consisted of a billiards table and a jukebox. Food was prepared by a nearby Puerto Rican family at a cost of $16 per week, and the camp is run by a Puerto Rican crew leader "of the type that predominates in farm labor camps in the area of New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Delaware." The crew leader hires the workers, who are not under the Puerto Rican farm labor contract, assigns them work, performs all manner of transactions for them, and lends them money. It is the crew leader's family which provides the food purchased by the workers. "In short," the Senate study concludes, "this crew leader controls the lives of these workers." During the visit by the Senators, most of the workers were found to have been drinking alcoholic beverages, a common pastime for isolated farmworkers.[33]

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[32] Nash, op. cit.

On the other hand there is the Curtis-Burns farm and cannery in Rochester, New York, whose Puerto Rican workers work under the agricultural labor contract. "The housing conditions are magnificent," the Senate study reports, "perhaps the best . . . in New York and New Jersey. . . . It has carpeted floors, air conditioning, and television. The toilets, washing and other facilities are in magnificent condition. The dining hall is large, clean, and [the workers] are served three hot meals. In addition, a snack is served for the workers who work the night shift at the cannery. . . . In conversations with the workers, they expressed that they were quite satisfied with the labor camp and pointed out that the working conditions are good."[34]

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[33] Senado de Puerto Rico, op. cit., p. 44.

The Senate investigators visited seven other facilities housing Puerto Rican farm laborers. The description of these indicates that they generally fall between the two described above, with larger camps generally providing better housing and smaller camps poorer. It should be noted that there is a great proliferation of small farm labor camps in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York which house thousands of Puerto Rican farmworkers, largely non-contract, in conditions closer to that of the Jill Brothers Farm than to those of the Rochester facility.[35]

Housing in Massachusetts and Connecticut farm labor camps generally exhibit a degree of variance similar to that in New Jersey and New York, although the great majority of farmworkers are housed in facilities adhering to the standards of the Puerto Rico farm labor contract, which requires hot and cold running water, adequate lighting and heating, lockers, individual beds with blankets, laundering facilities or services, and establishes cleanliness requirements for the labor camp.[36] A report to the Massachusetts legislature in 1967 indicated that a number of Puerto Rican farmworkers in the Cape Cod area were living in "dilapidated barns" and "converted chicken coops" with an outside privy some distance away.[37] Other sources indicate that similar conditions existed in 1972,[38] although Antonio del Rios, a field representative in Boston for the Migration Division of the Puerto Rico Department of Labor, says that contract workers are not sent to such farm labor camps by the Commonwealth government.[39]

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[34] Ibid., p. 48.

[35] Conversation with Douglas Jones, Chairman of the Board of Directors, New Jersey Farmworkers' Corporation, Vineland, N.J. Television newscaster Geraldo Rivera publicized conditions in New Jersey farm labor camps in 1972, and a number of articles have appeared subsequently in the New York Times on this subject.

At present, minimum standards for migrant housing are established by the farm labor contract and by the State Sanitary Code in Massachusetts and the Public Health Council in Connecticut. The role played by these agencies, and by the Federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration, has been discussed in Chapter I. The implementation of the Sanitary Code in Massachusetts in 1969 eliminated much of the ramshackle housing. Nevertheless, substandard housing may be found both in Connecticut and Massachusetts, particularly on smaller, non-contract farms. This is attributed largely to slipshod enforcement of the law, which is entrusted to local boards of health. Poorer quality housing in Massachusetts is generally found in the eastern part of the state, especially in the Cape Cod area. An examination of migrant housing in Massachusetts was undertaken by Dr. James Nash in 1973.[40] Dr. Nash found that most of the camps were inspected at the beginning of the agricultural season by the Board of Health, but that spot checks were infrequent during the season, and very few camps were denied certification. Housing conditions were found to vary in quality from "very good to abominable."

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[36] Departamento del Trabajo, E.L.A., "Convenio Agrícola entre Patronos y Trabajadores Agrícolas Puertorriqueños, 1972," Artículo 6.

[37] Commonwealth of Massachusetts Legislative Research Council, op. cit.

[38] "Migrants in Mass.--Slavery in the Suburbs," Boston Phoenix, August 22, 1972.

[39] Conversation with Antonio del Rios.

Most camps in Massachusetts and Connecticut are barracks style, with bunks or single beds lined in rooms, housing from two to thirty men. The larger tobacco camps in the Connecticut Valley house fifty to one hundred and fifty men, and the Farm Labor Distribution Center in Connecticut, Camp Windsor, has a capacity for 800 men and is usually half full. The facilities for contract workers range from clean and relatively new bunkhouses to seedy farmhouses and barracks. Toilets are generally not sufficient in number for the camp population and are often in disrepair. Hot and cold running water is provided and also laundering facilities, ranging from washing machines and dryers to basins. Linen is usually supplied by the employer on a weekly basis, but blankets are seldom, if ever, cleaned during the season. Dining facilities range from two-burner stoves and a picnic table on small camps where the workers cook their own meals to spacious kitchens and dining halls on the larger camps.

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[40] James Nash, op. cit.

Farm labor camps in Connecticut and Massachusetts are generally located near the farms and isolated from the surrounding community physically and socially. Feelings in these communities toward the migrants range from indifference to mistrust and hostility, and confrontations between townspeople and farmworkers are a part of every season in the Connecticut Valley.[41]

Recreation after work hours is generally limited to the farm camp. Workers watch television, or tune the radio and write letters. Others play dominoes, a favorite pastime in Puerto Rico. Still others play billiards, softball, or, in some camps, basketball. On the large contract camps, the companies show films. Occasionally the camp manager or farmer drives the men to town to cash checks, or the workers walk or ride to town on their own, to patronize the local drugstore, grocery, or bar. Otherwise the men are isolated on the labor camps for the duration of their stay. In Massachusetts they may receive visitors without the approval of the camp manager or farmer, under the protection of Department of Health Regulations.[42]

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[41] Toward the end of the 1974 agricultural season a confrontation took place involving nearly 100 farmworkers and a number of men from South Deerfield, Massachusetts. State and local police were called to quell the disturbance, which was reported in the Daily Hampshire Gazette. Fortunately there were no injuries or arrests. The root causes and effects of these frictions merit separate study.

[42] Mass. General Laws, Ch. III, Section 128H. The issue of access to labor camps will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

In Connecticut, visitors must request permission to enter the growers' property before seeing the workers, except in Camp Windsor, which is under a Federal Court ruling and must allow free entrance to visitors without previous employer approval.

With regard to food, two basic arrangements exist in labor camps in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Under the farm labor contract, the employer purchases, prepares, and serves food to the farmworkers, at a cost to the worker not exceeding the employer's cost of providing the food. During the 1974 agricultural season, workers paid $21 per week for three meals a day. The food on the contract camp consists of Puerto Rican staples, with one or more meat courses a day. A hot breakfast and supper are provided, and for lunch the workers pack sandwiches and hot soup. Workers often complain about the quality and quantity of the food, which they claim is inadequate for the physical requirements of farm labor, and work stoppages have taken place on some camps in protest of the food served.

Non-contract workers generally purchase and prepare their own food, either on their own or with the assistance of a cook or camp manager. Their meals, the author has observed, are often less balanced nutritionally than that on the contract camps, but some workers prefer it, as they can select and prepare it to their taste. Cooking facilities, as mentioned above, are generally superior on the contract labor camps.

Worker attitudes toward their living and working conditions vary on both contract and non-contract camps, from despondency, bitterness and despair to complacency and contentment. The younger workers on the contract camps generally exhibit the most distaste for migrant farm labor, and most often rebel against the camp managers and field bosses. A group of young workers dissatisfied with the arrest of a friend on Camp Windsor by town police in 1973 brought about a one-day work stoppage of over 400 men on that camp.[43] Other workers, including middle-aged heads of families who depend solely on farm labor for their livelihood, held a work stoppage and circulated a petition to more than 1,000 workers, requesting from the Governor of Puerto Rico a number of improvements in their living and working conditions.[44] More often, however, disgruntled workers merely pack their bags and go home when they have had enough of life and work on the camps. The Shade Tobacco Growers' Association annually returns to Puerto Rico a number of workers who suffer emotional crises on the camps.[45] It is the author's observation that on the non-contract camps, where the proportion of older workers is generally greater, the total dependency on the grower for the conditions of employment breed attitudes of complacency, sullenness, or, in some instances, a hat-in-hand, grateful subservience to the employer. Most workers, aware that employment outside migrant farm labor is virtually non-existent in Puerto Rico, bear the discomforts and problems patiently, and escape the drudgery of the camps by letter writing, sleeping, gambling, drinking, tuning the radio or television, or patronizing a variety of hucksters and traveling salesmen who regularly visit the camps.

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[43] "Despido y arresto de trabajador provoca paro en Windsor Camp." El Espuelazo, newspaper published by the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., Springfield, Mass. Vol. II, No. 12, June 1973.

[44] Springfield (Mass.) Union, August 12, 1973. These worker actions will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

[45] Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, Agricultural Workers' Hospital, "Medical Repatriations, December 1, 1970-November 30, 1971."

Living and working conditions of the Puerto Rican migrant farmworker have varied over the years and from one work site to another.[46] The development of the farm labor contract, the nature of the employer, and the state and Federal regulations governing agricultural work and compliance with them have been key factors in determining conditions. In some areas working conditions have progressed over the years from inhuman to adequate for health and safety, while others have remained basically unchanged for thirty years. In general, it may be said that in extremely few cases has migrant farm work progressed beyond being an economically marginal and physically hazardous occupation. In most cases the grower has it within his power to bring about necessary improvements in living and working conditions, which could probably result in a more stable and productive work force.[47] In the absence of employer action, however, there seems to be little recourse but to the development and strict implementation of legislation protecting the worker and the introduction of honest and effective trade unions in the Puerto Rican migrant labor system. The limited level of skill and education of the worker in relation to the highly organized society in which he lives and works, and the pervasive isolation he experiences from the greater community and its social services,[48] calls for the specific application of government resources on the workers' behalf. The following chapter will study such an application of government resources, through the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., a community-based organization operating in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

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[46] See Appendix 3, "Comparison of living and working conditions of Puerto Rican farmworkers in Southern Connecticut, 1958 and 1974."

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[47] Christopher Mock, "Seasonal Labor in Agriculture: The Need for Legislation, the Development of Unionization, and the Corporate Response." Thesis toward the Master's Degree in Business Administration, Harvard University, 1972.

[48] Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Federal and State Statutes Relating to Farmworkers: A Compilation (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

CHAPTER III

PURPOSE, FUNCTIONS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND FARM WORKERS' COUNCIL, INC.

A. Purpose and Functions of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc.

The New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., is a non-profit corporation established in 1971 in the states of Connecticut and Massachusetts for the purpose of providing social services to migrant and seasonal farmworkers and promoting their general welfare. During the period under study, the N.E.F.W.C. served primarily the Puerto Rican adult male farmworkers which make up the population of the migrant farm labor camps in these two states. The background to the migration of these workers, their demographic characteristics and their living and working conditions have been discussed in the preceding chapter of this study. The agency's services were also extended to non-migrant, or seasonal farmworkers residing in Springfield, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut, the principal cities in the Connecticut Valley. At present, the organization's main office is in Springfield, and regional offices are maintained in Windsor, Connecticut, and Northampton and Plymouth, Massachusetts. Principal sources of funds for the Council's services have been the Migrant and Legal Services Divisions of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Migrant Division of the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, and the Health Services and Mental Health Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds have been awarded to the agency in the form of grants for the performance of services under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Public Health Act of 1962.

The Council provides farmworkers with a variety of community services, including free legal, health, education, job placement, and transportation services, and a means of community information in the form of a Spanish language newspaper and English language newsletter. It is also engaged in the development of a credit union for farmworkers and the establishment of economic ventures in New England and Puerto Rico designed to be run by farmworkers and to provide them with an alternative to employment in the migrant labor system. As the Council must function within the largely Puerto Rican, Spanish-speaking farmworker community and in the English-speaking society which surrounds it in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the staff and Board of Directors conduct agency business in both languages.

During the course of its development, the N.E.F.W.C. has adopted three basic objectives. One is to provide the social services that the farmworker community requires. Some of these services, such as the credit union and community information services, have not been hitherto provided to that community at the local or state level. Others, such as health and legal services, are available to the permanent farmworker communities in the cities but do not meet the specific needs of the socially and physically isolated communities on the farm labor camps. In such cases the Council has developed services to meet these needs.

A second objective of the Council is that of advocating for the expressed interests of the farmworkers. Because of the isolated and transient status of migrant farmworkers, their problems and issues of concern are often not dealt with by public officials and government agencies at the local, state, or even national level. The lack of legal protection and viable labor organizations, discussed in earlier chapters, have frequently afforded the Puerto Rican migrant little voice or opportunity to bring about change in his situation. Through its Board of Directors, composed of farmworkers and non-farmworkers, and Regional Advisories, composed entirely of migrants, the N.E.F.W.C. gathers the concerns and opinions of the farmworker community, and communicates these to farm labor employers, government agencies, and the community at large. In addition, it has established formal structures designed to advocate for the interests of farmworkers. One such structure is the legal services project, which was given first priority in the action plans drawn by the Board of Directors; another is the participation of the Council in farmworker-oriented associations at the regional and national levels.[1]

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[1] The Council is affiliated with the Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs, of Raleigh, N.C., and the National Association

The advocacy role of the agency has promoted cooperation among the various segments of the migrant labor system in the Connecticut Valley for the benefit of the farmworker. On occasion this role has led the agency into conflicts with other members of the system, as will be shown later.

The third basic objective of the Council is that of promoting self determination among the farmworker community. Within the agency, this objective has contributed to an increasing membership of farmworkers on the Board of Directors and the staff, as well as to the establishment and maintenance of Regional Advisory bodies which meet regularly during the agricultural season and elect the farmworker members of the Board. Among the farmworker community, the Council's efforts at promoting self-determination have taken the form of direct assistance to farmworkers desiring to take action on behalf of their community. A prime example of this effort was the assistance given during the 1973 agricultural season to a group of migrants wishing to petition the Governor of Puerto Rico for improvements in their working and living conditions and for participation in the negotiations of the farm labor contract. With the assistance of the N.E.F.W.C. staff, these workers visited all the major camps in the Connecticut Valley, addressed the workers there re-

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of Farmworker Programs, of Washington, D.C. It also subscribes to services of the Raza Association of Spanish Surnamed Americans, of Washington. These three groups have a record of advocacy of farmworker issues in the three brnaches of the Federal government.

garding their petition, and obtained over 1,000 signatures for their appeal to the governor.[2] The petition elicited a written response from the governor which promised farmworker involvement in the negotiation of the farm labor contract between the Secretary of Labor and the grower representatives.[3]

These three basic objectives have emerged from the Council's experience in the Puerto Rican farm labor system. They have been supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which has sought to implement the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that economically depressed communities have a major voice in government efforts to resolve their problems.[4] In order to carry out this intent, the O.E.O. established a network of Community Action Agencies in rural and urban low income communities throughout the country. These CAA's were to be governed by Boards of Directors, which would represent various segments of the community, establish priorities of service by the CAA, and account for its performance. Special consideration was given to CAA's for Indians, migrant farmworkers, and other groups which exhibited special service needs or did not lie within conventional governmental jurisdictions. Thus the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., was awarded a grant of funds to serve migrant and seasonal farmworkers in Connecticut and Massachusetts, originally in the Connecticut Valley and later in other areas of these states.[5] In effect, the N.E.F.W.C. performs the combined functions of a rural and an urban Community Action Agency.

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[2] Springfield, Massachusetts Union, August 12, 1973.

[3] See Appendix 4, letters from Governor of Puerto Rico to petitioning farmworkers and to the N.E.F.W.C. This incident and its aftermath will be discussed later..

[4] Economic Opportunity Act, U.S. Code.

Within this structure, the policies of the Farm Workers' Council are set by its Board of Directors, which has been composed of farmworkers and non-farmworkers since the inception of the agency. This Board was initially composed largely of non-farmworkers, mainly residents of the Connecticut Valley who were members of the Spanish-speaking community, the clergy, and other CAA's and social service organizations serving the urban communities. It was this group of approximately thirty persons which approved the submission of a proposal to the Migrant Division of O.E.O. in the Fall of 1971 for the provision of services to migrant farmworkers. Since that time the members of the Board have sought to shift the numerical balance of power to the farmworker Directors while at the same time streamlining the total membership, so that at this time the governing body is composed of eleven persons, six farmworkers and five non-farmworkers. Projects are presently carried out by a staff of over thirty persons, who operate the various program components out of the central office and the regional centers. In addition, the Board contracted with a delegate agency, Neighborhood Legal Services of Hartford, to provide legal services to the farmworker community in the camps and in the cities during the period of 1972 through 1974.[6]

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[5] Office of Economic Opportunity, Migrant Division, Grant Award #10055 to the N.E.F.W.C., 1 Nov. 1971-31 Oct. 1972.

Legal services is uppermost in the list of services which the Board of Directors has deemed vital to the farmworker community. Among the functions of the Council's legal services delegate agency have been the representation of individual farmworkers, representation of groups of farmworkers by means of class actions, law reform, and legal education of the farmworker community and the Council staff. Two principal objectives of the legal services program are the resolution of problems peculiar to the overall migrant farm labor situation and the development of a greater awareness on the part of the farmworker of his legal rights, resources, and needs. In order to achieve its projects the legal services project has undertaken actions utilizing its own resources and those of other farmworker legal action projects, such as the Migrant Legal Action Program of Washington, D.C., an O.E.O.-funded resource center for migrant law. In addition to litigation and law reform, the legal services project undertakes negotiations with the farm labor employers regarding workers' claims of unpaid wages and violations of the farm labor contract. The services are performed by attorneys, paraprofessional and administrative staff, and the Council's outreach staff.

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[6] See Appendix 3, Organization Chart of the N.E.F.W.C. After 1974, Neighborhood Legal Services has been funded directly by the Migrant Division of O.E.O.

The Council has identified a number of problems affecting the health of migrant farmworkers. Among these problems are the lack of comprehensive medical and dental care for migrants, poor farmworker access to health care due to physical and social isolation, and dependence on the employer for health care and transportation to medical facilities. Other problems identified have been the hazardous conditions of agricultural work, the need for involvement of farmworkers in policy decisions concerning the delivery of health services, and the need for enforcement of the workers' health rights. In order to deal with these problems, the N.E.F.W.C. provides free outpatient medical services to farmworkers on labor camps and in the cities of Hartford and Springfield, through contracts with community-based clinics in those cities. Services include a sick call on the camps, free medical examinations, medication, laboratory services, and emergency dental care. The sick call is made by Council health aides, mostly ex-farmworkers, who also serve as translators between the patient and the physician and perform para-medical functions at the clinics. The contracted providers have been selected on the basis of their professional competence and their ability to meet the cultural needs of their farmworker patients. Both clinics have bilingual professional and paraprofessional staff.[7]

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[7] One medical service provider is the Community Health Services of Hartford, another the Brightwood-Riverview Clinic of the Springfield Hospital.

In addition to these health services, the project provides migrants with free eye examinations and eyeglasses in cooperation with a private foundation,[8] health education, and screening and testing services on a mass scale. During the 1973 and 1974 seasons, the agency mobilized existing resources in Massachusetts and Connecticut to conduct massive screening and testing of farmworkers for tuberculosis and oral cancer.[9] In addition, the effectiveness and quality of the Council's medical services are evaluated by the Board of Directors of the Council, which is composed of a majority of farmworkers, and health rights are guarded by the agency's program of legal services to farmworkers.

A job placement service is also operated for those workers seeking employment outside agriculture. The staff assigned to this manpower component seeks employment opportunities through the major employers in the area and screens and orients farmworkers for these positions. The staff also assists in the transition process of those migrants from Puerto Rico who wish to remain in New England, by helping them search for housing, in the initial job entry process, and by orienting them to the realities of employment and living conditions in this area. The manpower component operates with a staff located in Springfield and Hartford. During the winter months, while the migrants are not in the area, other Council field staff are assigned to this component, to the offices of the State Employment Service, and to other offices through which job placement services to the inner-city farmworker community may be augmented.

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[8] Eyes for the Needy, a New Jersey-based foundation.

[9] The tuberculosis screening was conducted in cooperation with the Hartford Lung Association; the cancer screening involved over 100 students and faculty of the Tufts University Dental School.

The manpower component plays a particular advocacy role on behalf of the farmworkers. Its Coordinator sits on the governing and advisory bodies of manpower planning and training organizations, primarily the Area Manpower Planning Councils established under the offices of the Mayors of Springfield and Hartford. From these positions the N.E.F.W.C. advocates for the inclusion of farmworkers and other Spanish-speaking persons in jobs and vocational training programs in the public and private sectors, and for the adaptation of these programs to the special needs of the farmworkers and the Spanish-speaking.[10]

The Council offers education services to farmworkers, in the areas of pre-vocational education and of "survival" education, which may be generally described as the acquisition of the skills and awareness necessary for effective functioning in the foreign society to which the farmworkers are exposed during their stay in New England. Pre-vocational education includes basic English, Spanish literacy, computational skills, and drivers' education. "Survival" education includes consumer education, orientation to rights and responsibilities under the farm labor contract, orientation toward the cultural and legal characteristics of their environment in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and discussions of the living and working conditions of migrant farm labor. The first stresses employment-related skills, the second what may be termed social skills. In addition, pilot programs in vocational education have been implemented, with the assistance of local and state resources. The educational programs are carried out on the farm labor camps and after work hours, in order to afford the farmworkers maximum access to the service. The staff designated to perform the educational services is selected on the basis of their training in the disciplines of education and their personal ability to provide educational services to farmworkers. Specific orientations to the cultural characteristics of the farmworker community are part of the training of this staff, and the applicability of instructional methods to these cultural characteristics is part of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the education services. The educational programs will be described in greater detail in a subsequent chapter of this study.

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[10] See Minutes of meetings of the Hartford Area Manpower Planning Council, Office of the Mayor, and the Hampden County Manpower Consortium, Office of the Mayor of Springfield, Mass., 1972-1974.

In order to compensate for the lack of transportation in the rural areas where most of the farmworker camps are located, the Council provides migrants in the Connecticut Valley with free transportation services to shopping areas, public transportation depots, medical facilities, and other community services, by means of six agency passenger vans. This service is of direct economic benefit to the workers, who must otherwise rely on unscrupulous traveling salesmen for their purchases of merchandise and pay substantial sums to private individuals for transportation services.

The agency also seeks to bridge the isolation of the farmworkers from means of public information by publishing a Spanish language newspaper directed at the farmworker community, once a week during the agricultural season and biweekly during winter months. The newspaper is called El Espuelazo ("The Cockspur") in reference to cockfighting, a popular sport among Puerto Ricans. It features news of events on the camps, summaries of news from Puerto Rico, and contributions from the workers of a journalistic, literary, and personal nature. Approximately two thousand copies of each issue are published and distributed free of charge on the camps and in the cities. During the winter months, El Espuelazo is mailed to migrants in Puerto Rico and elsewhere. In addition, an English language newsletter is published on a monthly basis for the purpose of informing the English-speaking community of the farmworkers' conditions and concerns. Through these publications, the agency promotes a flow of information among the Council, the farmworkers, and the general community, helping to alleviate language, geographic, and social barriers. The Spanish language newspaper is also utilized as a learning tool by the agency's education component.

The goal of an independently functioning credit union for migrant farmworkers has been part of overall Council plans since 1972, as the agency has recognized the difficulties the farmworkers experience in saving their earnings safely and profitably and in securing credit during periods of personal financial crisis.[11] Work toward this goal has carried the credit union through several developmental stages, and a joint effort between the Cooperative Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the N.E.F.W.C. resulted in the incorporation of a credit union for farmworkers in October, 1974. The agency will provide necessary financial support for the administrative functions of the credit union during its first year, after which it is expected to become self-sufficient. Initially the credit union will enable its members to save their earnings and transmit money safely and easily to their dependents in Puerto Rico, and credit services will commence when the credit union gathers sufficient funds. In addition, the credit union will have a permanent educational program, based on the benefits of cooperative action and the productive use of savings and credit. It is projected that the credit union will offer its services initially in Puerto Rico, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and eventually in other areas where Puerto Rican migrants work.[12]

In addition to providing services to farmworkers in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Council has sought to extend services to migrants in Puerto Rico. Staff members of the agency have met with several heads of government agencies on the island, and communicated farmworker concerns to the office of the Governor. In 1973, the N.E.F.W.C. promoted the creation of an interagency committee of the Puerto Rican government to coordinate services to the farmworkers between their home area and their work site. Out of this committee emerged the commitment of the Cooperative Development Administration to promote the development of the aforementioned credit union. The agency has sought to coordinate its services with those offered by government and private agencies in Puerto Rico, and to promote the development of additional services on the island for migrants. As a result of this effort the Council has supported the development of a migrant legal services project in Puerto Rico, and is presently under contract with the island's Department of Labor to provide educational services to migrants in Connecticut and Massachusetts under a Federal grant.[13] Council staff members have also developed plans for the establishment of economic ventures in the rural areas of Puerto Rico designed to be owned and operated by former migrants, thereby seeking to break the cycle of migrant labor by Puerto Rican agricultural workers.

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[11] Migrants often save their earnings in their lockers or on their person, and thefts are common, especially at the end of the agricultural season. Also, they generally do not keep their money in local banks long enough to earn interest, and often have to pay the bank a service charge at the end of their stay.

[12] New England Farm Workers' Council, "Application for Federal Assistance," submitted to the Migrant Division, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, November, 1974.

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[13] The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, Title III, Section 303. Statutes at Large.

B. Development of the N.E.F.W.C.

The preceding section has described the structure and functions of the New England Farm Workers' Council. The following section will trace the development of the N.E.F.W.C. as an organization, stressing the key factors and events in this development. It will begin by studying some of the statutes and organizations which operated on behalf of the farmworkers before the inception of the Council. To a greater or lesser degree, these statutes and agencies influenced the creation of the Council and the directions it would take in serving the farmworkers. The present Council is, in fact, the direct successor to two state-run agencies, the Massachusetts Migrant Education Project and the Massachusetts Migrant Health Project.

Antecedents to the N.E.F.W.C. In a legislative field virtually barren of state protection for migrant farmworkers, the Massachusetts legislature conducted a study of living and working conditions of migrants in the Commonwealth in 1967.[14] As a result of its investigation, the legislature enacted an amendment to Chapter 151 of the General Laws of Massachusetts, the "Minimum Wage Law" for farmworkers, setting a minimum wage which began at $1.20 an hour. In addition, provisions were made requiring the annual inspection of all farm labor camps and their certification for minimum health standards.

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[14] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Legislative Research Council. "Report Relative to Migratory Labor" (Boston: State House, 1967).

Subsequent to the enactment of this legislation in Massachusetts, the Connecticut legislature adopted similar measures. Other legislative steps on behalf of farmworkers were enacted previous and subsequent to these statutes, particularly at the Federal level. These are discussed in Chapter I of this study.

Several projects have operated in Massachusetts and Connecticut on behalf of the farmworkers preceding the Council, some under the provisions of Federal legislation and others by means of private resources. One private group, the Migrant Ministry, sponsored by the Councils of Churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut, has been providing services to the migrants for over fifty years. Its work includes the distribution of clothing and reading materials, the offering of church services and social activities, and in some cases the provision of financial assistance. During the last several years, and under the influence of popular opinion in favor of the migrants, the Ministry has taken a more activist role, lobbying for legislation to improve working and living conditions and providing funds for unionizing activities among the farmworkers. This aspect of the Migrant Ministry is increasingly noticeable, although the pastoral and charitable functions of the organization are still performed.[15]

Massachusetts has generally preceded Connecticut in the development of legislation and projects on behalf of the farmworker. One such early project was the Massachusetts Migrant Health Project, which began in the early 1960's and operated through the Spring of 1972.[16] This project, administered under the Commonwealth's Department of Public Health and financed under the Public Health Act of 1962, provided services on a pre-paid and fee-for-service basis to migrants in the Cape Cod and Connecticut Valley areas. Functioning parallel to this service for a time was the Cushing Project, a private health program under which physicians and dentists provided the migrants free care in their offices and on the labor camps.[17] In 1972, the Migrant Health Project was discontinued by the Public Health Department, apparently due to the high cost of providing mobile medical services to migrants in the small, scattered labor camps of the Cape Cod area and the widespread service area of the Connecticut Valley.[18]

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[15] Conversations with Rev. Dwight Kintner, General Secretary, Connecticut Council of Churches, Hartford, and Rev. James Nash, Massachusetts Council of Churches, Boston, 1974.

In the mid-1960's, several persons connected with the Migrant Health Project in Massachusetts applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for another grant to serve farmworkers. Thus the Migrant Education Project began operating in 1965, financed by O.E.O. and operated through the Commonwealth Service Corps of Massachusetts.[19] Its stated objective was to develop a broad adult education program, including testing, basic English, community orientation, health counseling, work training, and supplementation of other community services.

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[16] Migrant Health Project, Western Region, "Final Report, 1966." Also, conversations with Geraldine Bonneau and Janet Berkenfield, Regional Coordinators, Western and Eastern Regions, Migrant Health Project, 1972 and 1974.

[17] Department of Political Science, Tufts University, "Conditions of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

[18] Conversation with Geraldine Bonneau, Coordinator, Western Region, Massachusetts Migrant Health Project, Spring, 1972.

The project began operations with a funding level of $97,000, providing its services out of seven centers throughout Massachusetts. Its staff members and volunteer teachers worked on the farm labor camps five nights a week during the agricultural season. The program operated in this fashion until 1969, when a new organization, the Migrant Commission, was created, for the purpose of discussing overall migrant problems and developing comprehensive solutions to them. However, the Commission was short lived, and the entire Migrant Education Project was discontinued that year.[20]

At that point staff members of the Migrant Education Project sought to fund a new project to operate on a year-round basis. A funding request was granted once more by O.E.O., and in the summer of 1970 the Migrant Education Project resumed operation, this time under the Commonwealth's Department of Community Affairs. The project was funded for $250,000, included representation of farmworkers on several regional boards, and developed a closer working relationship with the Migrant Health Project.[21] It functioned, as did the health service, primarily in the Cape Cod and Connecticut Valley areas of Massachusetts. After two years of operation the Migrant Education Project gave way to the New England Farm Workers' Council, which sought to operate in Connecticut as well as Massachusetts and serve all the farm labor camps in the Connecticut Valley.

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[19] Conversation with Prof. Harvey Friedman, Director, Labor Relations Center, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1974.

[20] Dep't of Political Science, Tufts University, op. cit.

[21] Ibid.

The Farm Workers' Council was created in 1971 to succeed the Massachusetts Migrant Education Project as an interstate agency offering a variety of services to the farmworker community. The Council came about apparently in part out of seeming O.E.O. disappointment with the lackluster performance of the Migrant Education Project under state sponsorship, and in part out of a desire of members of the Migrant Education Project, the Migrant Health Project, and other interested persons to expand services into Connecticut. Another contributing factor was the apparent desire of members of the O.E.O. Regional Office in Boston to support a new and potentially successful organization serving the Spanish-speaking.[22]

The new project took form when the Western Massachusetts Board of Directors of the Migrant Education Project sought funding independently from the Migrant Division of O.E.O. The Council was incorporated on June 25, 1971, in the State of Connecticut, and was licensed to operate as a non-profit corporation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first Board of Directors was comprised of thirty members, representing migrants on the farm labor camps, the day-haul farmworker community, ex-farmworkers, representatives of agencies, and concerned citizens from both states. The purpose of the new agency, according to its charter of incorporation, was the following:

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[22] Report to the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Migrant Education Project in Western Massachusetts, October, 1971 (mimeographed).

> To initiate, and carry through, educational programs; raise levels of income; research and initiate training in skills, including those directed towards careers and advancement of opportunity; provide and see provided safe, decent, and healthy housing; research, initiate, and carry through programs designed to counter the effects of language barriers and geographical and cultural isolation; create and execute programs affecting the causes of poverty, including communications, agricultural law, differential migration patterns, farmworker-farmer relations, . . . to form, aid, assist, and/or support other organizations organized for the above purpose; and secure human rights established and guaranteed by law. . . .[23]

The proposal developed by the Board of Directors and its staff assistants for submission to the Office of Economic Opportunity described a series of activities and objectives to be performed. These activities and services have been part of the agency's work program from 1972 to 1974. This study will select for analysis the Council's activities during 1972 and 1973. During this time the agency grew from inception to maturity, undergoing a process of establishing its presence in the migrant labor system, developing the abilities and effectiveness of its staff and Board of Directors, and achieving the basic objectives that had been set down in its grant agreements with the funding sources. Selected events during 1971 and 1974 will be included in the analysis for purposes of providing an overall picture of the agency's development.

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[23] New England Farm Workers' Council, "Articles of Incorporation."

The Migrant Division of O.E.O. accepted the proposal as presented by the Board and awarded the Council $250,000 to operate its programs from November 1, 1971, to October 30, 1972. The Council thus became the direct successor to the Migrant Education Project. Program operations began in January, 1972, and developed through the Fall of 1973 in a process which for purposes of study may be divided into six phases.

Six Phases of Development. The first phase corresponds to activities related to the establishment of the basic service functions and administrative procedures of the agency. The second is characterized by the initial staff activities and contacts with the farmworker community and other elements in the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. The third phase encompasses the greatest degree and variety of activities in the Council up to that time, in terms of both organizational development and services to the farmworkers. The fourth phase includes a period of stress and conflict within the agency, and pertains to Council activities during the last third of the 1972 agricultural season and the winter of 1972-1973 (see Table 4). The fifth section relates to the beginning of the 1973 agricultural season and to new initiatives by the Council designed to expand its services, particularly in the area of migrant health. The sixth phase describes the height of activity by the Council and the farmworkers during the 1973 agricultural season, including an initiative by the workers to secure improved living and working conditions and participation of the farm labor contract process (see Table 5).

All these events are of course interrelated, even though they may be seen as successive phases in the development of the Council. Their division into distinguishable phases is nevertheless of assistance in accurately tracing the internal development of the agency and the development of its relationship with other elements in the migrant farm labor system.

One note should be introduced at this point which may assist in evaluating the development of the Council's relationships with the governmental agents in the farm labor system at the state level, specifically the executive branches of the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico. The clearest measure of the acceptance or rejection of the Council's activities by agencies and officials of these governments has been the written opinions of the Council they have submitted to the funding sources of the agency at the time of the Council's annual applications for funds. These opinions, expressed as a matter of formal procedure in the grant application process, have summarized their policy toward the N.E.F.W.C., and serve as a measure of the effect of the agency upon these elements of the farm labor system.[24]

Phase 1 (Summer, 1971-January 1972): During the summer and fall months of this initial period, staff and Board members of the Migrant Education Project in western Massachusetts and residents of northern Connecticut concerned with the migrant situation in that state held organizational meetings, incorporated the Council, and developed a proposal for funding by the Migrant Division of O.E.O. which established the program goals outlined in Table 4. The Board of Directors of the new Council was composed largely of non-farmworkers and numbered thirty members.

In September 1971, members of the Migrant Education Project and of the newly formed N.E.F.W.C. took part in a demonstration outside the Office of the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Hartford, Connecticut. The demonstration grew out of the cancellation of a projected visit by members of the Senate of Puerto Rico to the area for the purpose of inspecting the operations of the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley.[25] This incident was probably one of the first in-

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[24] These opinions are of two kinds. One is direct communication of a government official's or agency's opinion of the Council to the funding source, usually by means of letters. Another is by the use of the Checkpoint Procedure for Coordination," an information-gathering process utilized by the Office of Economic Opportunity to "provide an opportunity for all appropriate officials, agencies, and institutions to express their concerns with respect to [the grant applicant's] proposed activities." See O.E.O. Instruction 6710-1."

[25] See Puerto Rico Senate Report.

TABLE 4

PROGRAM GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER O.E.O. GRANT NO. 10055, 1 NOVEMBER 1971-31 OCTOBER 1972[a]

Goal	Achievement
Manpower. (a) Employ two manpower coordinators to plan and implement manpower programs; (b) place at least 50 seasonal workers in manpower training programs; (c) place at least 25 seasonal workers in permanent jobs; (d) coordinate activities with education specialist to insure relevance of instruction to manpower needs; (e) participate in manpower committees in Massachusetts and Connecticut.	Manpower. Goal (a) achieved; (b) achieved only partially, as staff functions as planned did not permit necessary full-time effort to search for jobs and training program positions;[b] (c) achieved; (d) achieved.
Education. (a) Conduct English classes for at least 300 migrants living in camps; (b) provide consumer education classes for 300 workers; (c) provide drivers' education services; (d) provide prevocational education and job counseling to 300 migrants; (e) provide community orientation to 300 migrants; (f) recruit and place 25 workers in High School Equivalency Programs in Puerto Rico and the mainland administered by O.E.O.	Education. (a) Classes conducted for 141 migrants only, due to gear-up time spent hiring education staff and developing and testing materials; (b) classes conducted for 119 workers, for same reason as (a); (c) achieved; (d) achieved; (e) achieved; (f) if not achieved, due to gear-up time in coordination with Puerto Rico HEP.[c] It should be noted that although several of the education goals were met, curricula, methods and other learning factors required revision during and after the agricultural season to improve their effectiveness, and still do.
Transportation. Establish and utilize a transportation service for farmworkers.	Transportation. Goal achieved; 4 passenger vans purchased and utilized.

TABLE 4 - continued

Goal	Achievement
Legal Services. (a) Establish a contractual relationship between N.E.F.W.C. and a legal services delegate agency; (b) provide legal assistance to seasonal agricultural workers.	Legal Services. (a), (b), achieved.[d]
Board and Staff Development. Develop and strengthen Board of Directors and staff, so that seasonal or ex-seasonal farmworkers are fully represented.	Board and Staff Development. Goal achieved.[e]

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[a] N.E.F.W.C., "Office of Economic Opportunity: Application for Community Action Program," CAP FORM 81, 11/1/71-10/31/72. NOTE: For evaluation of accomplishments, see Development Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C., "An Evaluation of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc.," submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Migrant Division, under contract BIC-5275, July, 1972.

[b] N.E.F.W.C., "Reporte [sic] Anual del Director Ejecutivo," September 8, 1972. Annual report, submitted to the Board of Directors by the Executive Director, September 8, 1972.

[c] Ibid.

[d] El Espuelazo, Vol. I, 1972, nos. 1-13.

[e] N.E.F.W.C., Minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors, March-November 1972, and Reports of Executive Director to Board of Directors for this same period. Also Bruce Young, "The Development of Farmworker Participation and the Influence of Staff Reports on the Board of Directors of the New England Farm Workers' Council, 1972-1973." Paper submitted to Dr. Juan Caban, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, August 1973.

teractions between the Council and officials of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and resulted in the publication of newspaper accounts suggesting an antagonistic relationship between the Council and the Commonwealth government.[26] This adversary relationship was reflected in correspondence from the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico to State and Federal officials on the mainland, and lasted until the election of a new administration in Puerto Rico, friendlier to the Council, in November, 1972.[27] It is the author's belief that the antagonism of the Commonwealth government toward the Council was based partly on the Secretary's apparent insensitivity toward the problems of the migrant farmworkers, and partly on a negative image of the newly formed Council presented to the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico by the Shade Tobacco Grower's Association.[28] The Council's own vocal criticisms of the Commonwealth's policy toward the migrants, expressed at the September meeting and thereafter, also contributed to this atmosphere of conflict. It may be said in general that this initial period of development was characterized by the organization of the agency's governing body and the establishment of the Council's legal identity. It may also be said that during this period the agency projected the public image of a vociferous and sometimes antagonistic advocate of farmworker interests.[29]

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[26] "Legislators from Puerto Rico Cancel Meeting with Migrants," Hartford Courant, September 19, 1971.

[27] Letters from Julia Rivera de Vicentí, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, to Pete Mirelez, Director of the Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity, August 24, 1972, and to Genevive Schiffmacher, Assistant Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry, November 3, 1972. Personal files of the author.

[28] Officials of the Association several times communicated to the author this close working relationship with the Secretary. During a visit by the author to the Department of Labor in Puerto Rico in 1973, Mr. Aurelio Segundo, Director of the Farm Program, spoke of the previous administration's indifference to the migrant farmworkers and pointed to the drop in the laborers leaving Puerto Rico under contract during that administration as evidence of this lack of concern.

Phase 2 (January-April 1972). Council operations began in January 1972, with the hiring by the Board of Directors of the Executive Director, Deputy Director, Regional Coordinators for Massachusetts and Connecticut, and key administrative staff. During this period basic operational and fiscal procedures were established, and a contract was awarded to Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc., of Hartford, for the provision of legal assistance to migrant and seasonal farmworkers.[30]

During this period the agency selected as its emblem the silhouette of a fighting cock, in reference to the popular Puerto Rican pastime of cockfighting and to the general connotations of courage and pride associated with the fighting bird. The selection of this emblem suggested the orientation of the staff and Board of Directors of the Council toward advocacy of farmworker concerns and promotion of their self-determination.

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[29] See Kenneth Hoadley, "The Connecticut Valley Shade Tobacco Industry." Thesis presented toward the degree of Master of Business Administration, Harvard University, April 1973.

[30] See minutes of meeting of N.E.F.W.C. Board of Directors, March 26, 1972.

During this time the agency began to acquire administrative sophistication. An initial review of the agency's accounting system by the accounting firm of Lucas, Tucker, and Co. of Boston revealed the agency's fiscal procedures to be in good order. The Board of Directors undertook numerous revisions of its own operating procedures and those of the staff,[31] allowed the Executive Director greater fiscal responsibility, and granted him the authority to hire personnel at the lower salary levels, thus departing from the Board's previous policy of hiring all staff. Additional staff positions were created at the field level of operations, in order to reach a greater number of farmworkers with Council services in the areas of education and job placement.[32]

Initial contact with the farmworker community commenced with the arrival of the first migrants in mid-March. Operating from its newly established regional offices in South Deerfield, Massachusetts, and Thompsonville, Connecticut, the Council staff visited the farm labor camps to distribute warm clothing, inform the workers of the Council's services, and distribute a mimeographed newsletter in Spanish. In Connecticut, the staff began to develop a Regional Advisory Council composed of farmworkers who met regularly to discuss matters of concern to them and to review the Council's activities and services in the farmworker community.[33] The letters from the workers received by the Council during this period, and their participation in the meetings and activities sponsored by the agency, indicate their acceptance of the agency at the outset of its operations.

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[31] See minutes of the Board meetings, January-April 1972.

[32] Executive Director report to Board of Directors, April 1972.

Also during this period, the Council began to develop a relationship with other migrant programs under O.E.O., especially the Farmworkers' Corporation of New Jersey, in Camden, which also served Puerto Rican migrants, and the Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs, comprised of projects similar to the N.E.F.W.C. through the Eastern U.S. Through the Association, the Council developed its ability to perceive the farmworker situation on a broader scale and gained from the experience of previously existing organizations. Council staff members also joined the Area Manpower Planning Committees operating under the offices of the Mayors of Springfield, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut, to insure farmworker inclusion in the vocational training and job development programs sponsored by municipalities in the Connecticut Valley.

The Council first became involved in direct controversy with the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association during this period. This first conflict took the form of complaints expressed by the legal services delegate agency regarding farmworker housing conditions deemed to be in violation of the farm labor contract and of Federal and state regulations. Shortly thereafter, the Council and the Growers' Association found themselves in competition over the administration of a medical services project for migrants, to be created that year by the Boston office of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Association had pressed for control of this project for several years through its Washington lobby, Milton Plumb Associates.[34] A series of meetings in the Spring of 1972 among officials of the Council, the Association, the Boston Office of H.E.W., and the Western Massachusetts Health Planning Council centered in the competition for the provision of these services.[35] The issue of the administration of the health project was further debated and resolved during the next phase in the development of the Council.

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[33] Audio-visual and newspaper records of the meetings are kept in record at the N.E.F.W.C. Central Office.

Phase 3 (May-August 1972). The Council further developed its administrative and service capabilities during this period. On the basis of the experiences of the first part of the agricultural season, the Connecticut Valley was divided into three basic work areas, centered in the concentrations of farm labor camps: the upper Valley in Massachusetts, in Hampshire and Franklin counties; the middle area of the Valley, in Hampden County; and the southern Valley, in Hartford,

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[34] Conversations with Milton Plumb at the offices of the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, and the Western Massachusetts Health Planning Council, Springfield, Massachusetts, Spring 1972.

[35] Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the N.E.F.W.C., February 13, 1972.

Tolland and parts of Middlesex counties in northern Connecticut. A staff member was hired and assigned to work with the day-haul farmworker community residing in Hartford, but this effort was soon abandoned, as it was recognized that the sizable Hartford community required a greater allocation of resources than were currently available. Service efforts were instead concentrated in the farm labor camps. During this period the Board of Directors awarded the Executive Director increased responsibility in hiring of staff, and by the end of this phase the Executive Director was given the responsibility of hiring all staff. This step served to strengthen the Council administratively. It has been the author's observation that retention of all hiring powers by the Board of Directors of some Community Action Agencies has often diluted the executive's control over the staff and that in some cases the appointment of staff has been based on little more than community politics. This can be avoided by a watchful Board holding the executive accountable for program performance and allowing him or her the power to hire a qualified staff to do the job well. Should the program falter, the executive and other staff can generally be replaced more quickly and easily than the Board.[36]

A proposal was submitted in May to the Boston office of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for medical services to farmworkers, in direct competition with a project submitted by the Growers' Association to subsidize their company clinic on the 800-man Windsor, Connecticut farm labor camp.[37] The submission of the proposals was fraught with political overtones, as the Connecticut Congressional delegation generally endorsed the Association's proposal and the Massachusetts delegation supported the Council's. In addition, state and city officials in Massachusetts and Connecticut gave their support to either the Council's or the Association's proposal. It was the issue of the health services proposal which gave the Council its first full exposure to the diversity of political activity attendant to the funding of proposals. It is the author's belief that H.E.W.'s eventual decision to split the grant between the Council and the Association was based as much upon the political pressures brought upon it by the two applicants as by consideration of the medical service needs of the migrants. As time went on, the agency's staff and Board of Directors became acutely aware of the necessity of political considerations in maintaining its place in the migrant labor system vis-a-vis the influential Growers' Association and its powerful ally, the Farm Bureau.[38]

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[36] Robert Townsend, Up the Organization (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1970), p. 31.

Antagonism between the Council and the Growers' Association grew as the agency's advocacy role developed during this period. At the May 10 meeting of the Council's Board, the farmworker Directors reported numerous admonitions and threats by camp managers and field supervisors to discourage farmworkers from utilizing Council services, attending Council meetings or even boarding a Council van to obtain free warm clothing at the agency's centers. Responding to this pressure, the farmworker Directors called for the circulation of a petition calling on the Growers' Association to provide workers with a complete hot lunch, instead of the soup and sandwiches then being supplied. At the June meeting a farmworker member presented a second petition, signed by 142 workers and requesting the Council to promote the extension of unemployment compensation coverage to farmworkers. He also reported further anti-Council pressures by the labor camp managers. Shortly thereafter the legal services staff distributed among the workers small notebooks where they could keep a record of their work hours for comparison with their pay stubs. Although this effort did not result in legal action, it was well received by the workers as a means of self-assertion with regard to field supervisors.[39]

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[37] Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, "Application for Federal Support Under the Migrant Health Act," 1972.

[38] The anti-farmworker influence of the Farm Bureau at the local, state and Federal levels has been documented in Samuel Berger, Dollar Harvest: An Exposé of the Farm Bureau (Lexington, Mass.: Heath-Lexington Books, 1971).

Evidence of further pressure on the Council from the Growers' Association came at the end of May with the visit to the Council's offices by Robert Fulton, Regional Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Boston, Rubén Figueroa, Commissioner of the

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[39] El Espuelazo, Vol. 1, 1972, Nos. 1-5.

Department of Community Affairs of Connecticut, the Commissioner of Agriculture of that State, and his Deputy Commissioner. The Commissioners expressed their concern over the allegations of the Growers' Association that the Council was promoting the unionization of the workers and threatening the demise of the Shade Tobacco industry in Connecticut. Mr. Fulton later that day expressed his concern privately to the Council staff that the Association was exerting strong pressure on O.E.O. through the offices of the Governor and the State Commissioner to discontinue the agency's services in that state.[40]

During this period, and thereafter, Commissioner Figueroa made repeated attempts to gain control of the supervision of the Council from the Migrant Division of O.E.O. He later sought to prevent the Council from operating in Connecticut altogether, and created a migrant farmworker division within his Department to work "in cooperation" with the Growers' Association.[41] Later during this period, an official of the Migrant Division of O.E.O. visited Julia Rivera de Vicentí, the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, to hear her criticisms of the Council, which were apparently based largely on reports from the growers' Association.[42]

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[40] Report of Executive Director to Board, June 10, 1972.

[41] "State Offering Help for Migrant Workers," Springfield Daily News, January 23, 1974.

[42] Conversation with Aida Morales, Program Analyst, Migrant Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C., July 1972.

Competition between the Council and the Growers' Association for administration of the H.E.W. migrant health project reached a peak in July 1972 when H.E.W. officials offered the Council $125,000 to operate a project for services to workers in Massachusetts and specifically barred services in Connecticut, where the Growers' Association would provide services under an identical grant award. At its July 16 meeting, the Council's Board of Directors voted to reject the grant award and to resubmit its original application for services in both states. A negotiation period of several weeks ensued, and finally H.E.W. permitted the Council to operate a health services project in both states. On August 8, the Board approved this grant award offer, marking a significant achievement in the agency's efforts to maintain its presence in all the farm labor camps of the Valley. The Growers' Association was awarded a similar H.E.W. grant.

In August the legal services delegate agency filed suit against the Growers' Association on behalf of twenty-seven workers in Connecticut and twenty in Massachusetts, claiming the provision of three hot meals per day. Shortly thereafter, workers at Whately, Massachusetts farm labor camp staged the first work stoppage of the season, on the grounds that they had been offered frozen sandwiches for lunch instead of a hot meal.[43] This increase in the Council's functions of advocacy and promotion of farmworker self-determination resulted in the application of greater pressure on the Migrant Division of O.E.O., with the effect that two of its officials were assigned to meet with O.E.O. regional officials in Boston and Commissioner Figueroa in Connecticut.[44] Subsequent to these meetings O.E.O. instructed the Council to make a few modifications in its operating procedures, but reaffirmed its support of the agency by declining the request of Connecticut officials to discontinue its funding or channel funds for Council activities in Connecticut through the State Department of Community Affairs.

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[43] El Espuelazo, Vol. 1, 1972, No. 8.

In August, the Executive Director prepared an annual report of Council services for submission to the Board in September. The projected service goals for the 1972 agricultural season and the agency's progress toward those goals in the latter part of the 1972 agricultural season are summarized in Table 4.[45] The report stressed that the previous nine months had been a period of physical and conceptual growth of the Council and that the principal goal of the Council was to provide the farmworker with "an instrument and an opportunity to exercise his power to shape his own future." The report indicated the development of each of the Council's components toward the goals stated in the grant agreements with O.E.O. With regard to the goals of the education component, the report stated that "even though program goals were not achieved in several areas, courses were developed and their efficacy was at least estimated." It was also recognized that the lack of technical skills among the farmworkers, a chief impediment toward their securing employment outside agriculture, had not been appreciably affected by the Council's educational efforts.[46] The report generally concluded that all of the Council's components had been put into operation since the beginning of the Council's program activities in January, and that grant goals had been approached by September and in some cases met by that time, particularly in the areas of community information and legal services. The evaluation of the Council in July of 1972 by Development Associates, private contractors to the Office of Economic Opportunity, reached approximately the same conclusion.[47]

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[44] Executive Director's report to the Board of Directors, August 20, 1972.

[45] N.E.F.W.C., "Reporte [sic] Anual del Director Ejecutivo," September 8, 1972.

Phase 4 (September 1972-February 1972). During the spring and summer months an internal conflict had been developing within the Council among top supervisory personnel over leadership roles in the organization. Factions developed within the staff, and late in August a confrontation took place which resulted in the dismissal and resignation of several component directors and staff members. After their departure from the staff in August, two former staff members gained election to the Board of Directors at its annual meeting in September. Thus the staff conflict was expanded to include conflict within the Board.[48] The net effect of this conflict, which lasted through February of 1973, was to divert considerable energy from the evaluation of the previous year's work and preparation for the next agricultural season. However, the agency did take steps to avoid the recurrence of such conflict. After the departure of the former staff members from the Board in February, the governing body enacted bylaws limiting eligibility of former staff members for Board membership.

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[46] Ibid., p. 11.

[47] Development Associates, Inc. "An Evaluation of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc.," submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Migrant Division, under Contract Number BIC-5272; SBA 0958 (8) a 71.

The expertise of the Board of Directors during this time was promoted by means of a weekend training session in September by Inter-America Research Associates, contractors to the Council and to the Migrant Division of O.E.O. In addition, the Executive Director attended a week-long management training session in Washington, D.C., sponsored by O.E.O. in November.

In order to maintain continuity in the policy-making process and promote maximum farmworker control of the organization, the Council secured from the Office of Economic Opportunity permission to transport migrant members of the Board of Directors from their homes in Puerto Rico to Springfield, Massachusetts, for monthly Board meetings during the winter season. In addition, mainland-based members of the Board traveled to Puerto Rico in November, 1972, for a Board meeting in Arecibo, a city on the north coast of the island from which a large number of workers travel each year to the farms in the Connecticut Valley. The Board meeting in Puerto Rico succeeded in publicizing on the island the problems of the migrants and the Council's activities in Massachusetts and Connecticut.[49]

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[48] El Espuelazo, Vol. 1, No. 9.

The participation of the migrants in the winter meetings in Springfield provided the governing body with an overview of the workers' problems at home as well as on the work site, and maintained farmworker inputs into the Board during the off-season.[50] This procedure was discontinued in 1973 for budget considerations.

In November of 1972, the Council's newly funded migrant health project began to operate, with the hiring of its director and an administrative assistant. The goals of the health project had been presented to H.E.W. in the Council's proposal, and are outlined together with the project's 1973 achievements in Table 5. The new project director negotiated agreements with community-based clinics in Hartford and Springfield, developed a process of coordination with the health project administered by the Growers' Association, and screened paraprofessional personnel for employment in February of 1973. Once hired, this staff, composed largely of former farmworkers, underwent general orientations with the rest of the Council staff and received specific training from medical contractors to the Council and from the clinics to which they would be transporting migrants during the agricultural season. Services were provided to over two thousand workers during the 1973 agricultural season, including visits to doctors, dentists, specialists, and pharmacy and laboratory services.[51] In addition, health education and screening services were provided to nearly a thousand workers on the farm labor camps. The Board of Directors of the Council, composed of a majority of farmworkers, reviewed the health project's operations on a monthly basis, and the agency's supervisory staff evaluated the project's daily operations by means of field inspections and a data retrieval system. Two significant accomplishments of the project were the reduction of dependence on the employer for medical care,[52] and the inclusion of workers in the policy-making process of the health project by means of the Council's Board of Directors.[53]

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[49] El Espuelazo, Vo. 1, 1972, No. 12.

[50] See minutes of Board meetings, November 1972-March 1973.

Conflict between the Council and officials of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico abated with the election of a new administration on the Island in November of 1972. Problems in Connecticut continued,

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[51] Taken from health project records, Fall, 1973.

[52] The problem of total dependency on the employer for access to health care providers has been discussed in Chapter II of this study.

[53] See Bruce Young, "The Development of Farmworker Participation and the Influence of Staff Reports on the Board of Directors of the New England Farm Workers' Council, 1972-1973," submitted as a course requirement to Prof. Juan Caban, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, August 1973. Personal files of the author.

TABLE 5

PROGRAM GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER H.E.W. GRANT NO. 01-H-000189-01/02, NOVEMBER 1972-NOVEMBER 1973[a]

Goal	Achievement
1. Provide ambulatory health care, including acute, diagnostic, therapeutic, and preventive care including laboratory and mental health services.	1. Council contracted with clinics in Hampshire and Hampden counties, Massachusetts, and in Hartford, Connecticut, for the provision of medical, laboratory, and mental health services.
2. Arrange for medical referrals to specialist.	2. Contractors in Springfield and Hartford referred patients to specialists and supervised patients' progress.
3. Provide pharmacy services.	3. Contracts made with pharmacies in Springfield and Hartford.
4. Support emergency dental care.	4. Contracts made with local dentists and oral surgeons in Massachusetts and Connecticut.
5. Arrange for inpatient services.	5. Arrangements made for referral of patients to hospitals in Northampton and Springfield, Mass., and Hartford, Conn.
6. Seek payment of inpatient services from third party sources.	6. Efforts were made to streamline the insurance claims process of the Puerto Rican farm labor contract, administered by the Migration Division of the Puerto Rico Department of Labor in New York, with the result that claim forms were supplied to Council health project. Efforts were made for welfare or medicaid to cover inpatient (hospitalization) costs, but state officials in Mass. and Conn. denied the Council's requests, claiming that welfare and medicaid covered only state residents and that

TABLE 5 (continued)

	migrants were not residents. Attempts were also made to increase the coverage for farmworkers under the farm labor contract, with no success to date.
7. To provide health education services as part of preventive care.	7. Health education classes were incorporated into the Council's educational program offered on the farm labor camps.
8. Conduct screening and immunization programs.	8. During the 1973 agricultural season, a massive TB screening program was carried out on the farm labor camps, with the assistance of the Hartford Lung Association. In addition, two Puerto Rican medical students were employed to perform screening and testing on the camps during that season, and the medical services contractors in Springfield and Hartford routinely conducted screening and testing functions on their farmworker patients. During the 1974 agricultural season, a massive cancer-detection screening was conducted on the camps, with the assistance of over a hundred staff and faculty members of the Tufts University Dental School.
9. Provide interpreter services for patient care.	9. Eight bilingual Council health aides performed this service.
10. Provide transportation for farmworkers to and from the health care facilities.	10. Five Council passenger vans were utilized to provide this service.
11. Reduce the farmworkers' cultural barriers to health care.	11. The entire 12 member staff of the Council health project is bi-lingual, and most are ex-farmworkers. In addition, the health service contractors were selected on the basis of their ability to meet the cultural needs of the

TABLE 5 (continued)

	farmworker community as well as on their professional effectiveness.
12. Reduce the financial barriers to health care.	12. All Council medical services are provided free of charge.

[a] Taken from N.E.F.W.C. "Grant Application for Health Services," submitted to the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Boston, Mass., June 1972. See also N.E.F.W.C., Health Project Director's monthly reports to the Executive Director, November 1972-November 1973. See also Janet Berkenfield, "Medical Audit of the N.E.F.W.C.," 1973, for an outsider's evaluation of the health project.

however, with the direct intervention of the office of the Governor and the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs in the decision-making process within O.E.O. regarding the Council's application for refunding of its programs for the period of November, 1972, through October, 1973. This pressure resulted in the delaying of refunding on a full-year basis, and the Council was faced with borrowing operating funds from other Migrant Division grantees and receiving funding on a quarterly basis. During this period members of the Council met with the D.C.A. Commissioner in Hartford and O.E.O. Migrant Division in Washington, with no success in finding a mutually acceptable compromise between the Commissioner's interest in supervising the Council's funding and the agency's desire to maintain its independence from what it considered to be a grower-oriented administration.[54] When it became evident to Connecticut officials that the Migrant Division would review funding of the Council, the Department of Community Affairs sought to place special conditions in the grant limiting the agency's advocacy functions, especially those of the agency's newspaper.[55]

Within the Council, activities on behalf of the farmworkers continued during the winter months. The education component staff re-evaluted its offerings of the 1972 season and developed materials for 1973. A collection of warm clothing was undertaken, and over 1,000 coats, hats, gloves, and other articles were collected for distribution to the migrants in the cold spring months. Council staff previously on the labor camps were assigned to work in inner-city agencies serving the day-haul farmworker community in the Connecticut Valley. The legal services project suffered a setback when the Federal District Court in New Haven ruled in February 1973 that the suit brought by twenty-seven farmworkers to improve food service on the camps was out of its jurisdiction.[56] It had been reported by workers in the Fall of 1972, however, that the publicity aroused by the food suit had resulted in a visible improvement in the food on the camps. Although the Council's funding by O.E.O. of its legal services project was delayed by pressure of the Connecticut state officials, the delegate agency continued work throughout the winter and the rest of 1973 on cases that had already been undertaken. The legal services continued to operate on this level even after the Connecticut Governor vetoed an O.E.O. grant award for legal services in July, 1973, and resumed full operations after the veto was overturned by O.E.O. Director Alvin Arnett in May of 1974.[57] In the meantime the Council provided support in O.E.O. for the creation of a migrant legal services program in Puerto Rico, which was established at the end of 1973 under the Rio Piedras office of Servicios Legales de Puerto Rico, the island's O.E.O.-funded legal services project.

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[54] See "Migrants' Hospital is Praised," Hartford Courant, May 3, 1973, in which Commissioner Figueroa expresses public support for the Growers' Association clinic at a time when debate between the Council and the Commissioner was receiving frequent attention in the Hartford press. The Commissioner later submitted a plan to the Federal government to replace the Council and award Federal funds to the Growers' Association for services to the migrants. See "Tobacco Growers' Sought as D.C.A. Arm," Hartford Courant, January 31, 1974.

[55] "Department Message" from A.P. Moscariello, Connecticut Department of Community Affairs, to William Kraynak, Director of the Connecticut Office of Federal/State Relations, December 5, 1972, commenting on the Council's funding application. Personal files of author.

[56] El Espuelazo, Vol. 2, 1973, No. 3.

During March, 1973, a training session of the agency's staff was carried out, concentrating on the goals of the agency, of each component within the agency, and of individual job functions. A discussion of this training session and others involving the Council staff and Board will be presented in Chapter IV of this study.

Phase 5 (March-June 1973). During 1972, the Council had enjoyed a positive relationship with the state administration in Massachusetts as well as with the offices of members of that state's congressional delegation.[58] In the spring of 1973, the agency began to cultivate an improved relationship with the new administration of Governor Rafel Hernández Colón in Puerto Rico. A primary objective of this effort was to gain the Commonwealth government's support for the Council's activities in New England on behalf of Puerto Rican migrants. More important yet, the agency sought to coordinate its services to the migrants with those offered by the island government, and, where these did not exist, to create new services for migrants and their families on the island. In addition, the Council contemplated the promotion of participation of farmworkers in the negotiation of the farm labor contract between the growers and the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico.

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[57] Letter from Alvin Arnett, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, to Thomas J. Meskill, Governor of Connecticut, May 1, 1974. Personal files of the author.

Agency staff members traveled to Puerto Rico in March of that year and met with the Secretaries of Labor, Health, and Agriculture, and with the head of the Cooperative Development Administration.[59] These officials assigned members of their staff to a new interagency committee created at that time to deal with migrant farmworker issues in coordination with the Council. Agreements were reached for the transmittal of medical records between New England and Puerto Rico, the provision of a more complete orientation of departing migrants by the Department of Labor, the study of potential agricultural enterprises to employ farmworkers full-time on the Island, and for the performance of a feasibility study for the development of a credit union for migrant farmworkers.

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[58] Letter from Genevive Schiffmacher, Assistant Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry, to Luis Silva Recio, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, September 18, 1973, expressing support of the Council. Also, letter by O.E.O. Director Alvin Arnett to Connecticut Governor Thomas J. Meskill, expressing approval by Massachusetts Governor of the Council's legal services, May 1, 1973. Personal files of the author.

[59] Executive Director's report to the Board of Directors of the N.E.F.W.C., March 16, 1973.

Of all these major initiatives, only the credit union study came to fruition, and this was primarily due to the personal commitment of the Commonwealth's Cooperative Development Administrator, Mr. Alberto Burgos, and his chief assistant, Mr. Luis A. Betances. The other projects did not materialize. There were, in the author's view, several reasons for this. One was apathy toward the problems of the migrants on the part of island government officials. During his visits to the government agencies, the author more than once heard the comment that the migrants at least had jobs, in comparison with the thousands of Puerto Ricans with no jobs at all. The second reason was sheer ineffectiveness within the Commonwealth's government agencies. The author found that even though the heads of government agencies and the Governor himself expressed support of the Council and made clear their intent to deal with the farmworkers' problems, the pervasive bureaucratization of the agencies made it impossible to find persons with the authority or the personal motivation and ability to carry out the commitments made by the higher government officials. A third, and perhaps a main underlying reason for the failure of the government agencies to deal with the migrant's problems, may be the fear of some government officials of the political sensitivity of the migrant farmworker issue itself, which has received wide publicity in Puerto Rico in recent years along with the involvement of the government in the overall migration process discussed in Chapter III. The government's handling of issues concerning the farmworker migrants in Massachusetts and Connecticut during 1972 through 1974 will be discussed in Chapter IV of this study.

Council services to the farmworker community during this phase in the agency's development and the rest of the 1973 agricultural season are summarized in Table 6. The job placement component exceeded its quota for the year during this period, and the education component secured the services of volunteer teachers recruited from universities in the Connecticut Valley. A mobile classroom was obtained, with full facilities for a pilot vocational education program in small engine repairs,[60] and a second pilot project in metal working was established through the Smith Vocational High School in Northampton, Massachusetts. These two programs, although competently prepared and staffed, did not meet with success, due largely to a high attrition rate among the farmworker trainers. The first could only be offered during the daytime, due to requirements of its state

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[60] Project Model, sponsored by the Massachusetts Department of Education.

TABLE 6

PROGRAM GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER O.E.O. GRANT NO. 10055, 1 NOVEMBER 1972-31 OCTOBER 1973[a]

Goal	Achievement
Legal Services. (a) Meet the legal needs of farmworkers through legal assistance; (b) educate and inform workers of their rights; (c) provide for group representation of workers; (d) engage in legal research and development of legal materials.	Legal Services. Funding of legal services project delayed due to opposition of Connecticut Governor Thomas Meskill. Delegate agency performs legal services with own funds and assistance of NEFWC staff.[b]
Manpower-Education. (a) Provide instruction in pre-vocational English to 250 farmworkers; (b) provide instruction that will aid workers in acquiring drivers' license; (c) provide instruction in Spanish literacy, community orientation, and legal, health, and consumer education; (d) place 25 workers in the High School Equivalency Program administered by O.E.O. Migrant Division in Puerto Rico and Massachusetts; place 45 workers in permanent jobs outside migrant farm labor; (f) initiate a pilot vocational training project for 25 farmworkers.	Manpower-Education. Grant goals met for (a), (b) and (c); (d) not met, as projected High School Equivalency Program projected for University of Massachusetts did not materialize;[c] (e) exceeded with over 90 placements; (f) project carried out at Smith Vocational High School, Northampton, Massachusetts, but a high student attrition rate reduced effectiveness of project.
Communications. (a) Publish a farmworker-oriented newspaper; (b) achieve farmworker participation in newspaper and radio/television presentations; (c) coordinate theatrical presentations involving workers; (d) perform public relations functions for the Council.	Communications. Grant goals met for (a), (b), and (c);[d] (d) English language brochure published, explaining Council functions.
Transportation. Provide 5,000 man-rides to farmworkers, including 2,000 rides for health	Transportation. Approximately 4,000 man-rides were provided during this period.[e]

TABLE 6 (continued)

services (1 man-ride=1 person utilizing transportation service 1 time).	
Activities in Puerto Rico. (a)establish general contacts on the island; (b) inform farmworkers of working and living conditions in New England.	*Activities in Puerto Rico.* (a) Council staff visits island and establishes interagency committee appointed by Secretaries of Labor and Health and Administrators of Cooperative and Economic Development agencies, to coordinate services to migrants; (b) *El Espuelazo*, Council newspaper, mailed to workers on island; Council Board of Directors meets in Puerto Rico, November 1972.[f]
Cooperatives. Analyze possibilities of forming a savings and credit cooperative for migrants.	*Cooperatives.* Commitment is made in interagency committee of Puerto Rico government to establish cooperative; feasibility study performed in Massachusetts and Connecticut.[g]

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[a] N.E.F.W.C., "Office of Economic Opportunity: Application for Community Action Program," OEO FORM 419, 11/1/72 to 10/31/73. NOTE: For evaluation of accomplishments, see AMEX Civil Systems, Inc., El Segundo, California, "An Evaluation of the New England Farmworker Council, Incorporated," submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Migrant Division, under contract no. B 3B-5467; SBA Section: 8(a), August 15, 1973.

[b] Letter by Alvin J. Arnett, Acting Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to Thomas J. Meskill, Governor of Connecticut, overriding the Governor's veto of the NEFWC's legal services project, May 1, 1974.

[c] Conversations with Ronald Luden, Project Officer, Migrant Division of Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 1973.

[d] *El Espuelazo*, Vol. II, 1973, nos. 1-29.

[e] NEFWC Management Information System forms, 1973.

[f] *El Espuelazo*, Vol. II, nos. 26-29.

[g] Martin Hernández Ramírez, "Estudio de Viabilidad Económica y Social Para Establecer una Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito entre los Migrantes Agrícolas Puertorriqueños en Nueva Inglaterra."

sponsors, and suffered from low enrollments as well as high student turnover. The second, offered in the evenings after work hours, proved too taxing to the energies of the farmworkers, who had to be transported to and from the training site each evening after a full day's agricultural work.[61] Classes in basic English, Spanish literacy, drivers' education, legal education, consumer education, and community orientation were also provided at this time. The Council's education program during this phase will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV of this study. The migrant health program began its services to the farmworker community during this period, and gained prompt acceptance among the workers despite pressures by the camp managers urging the workers not to use the Council's service and utilize instead the Association's clinic. For a summary of the health project's services during the 1973 agricultural season, see Table 5.

At the same time the Council was providing services to the farmworker community with increased proficiency over the previous agricultural season, political pressure on the Council from the Connecticut state administration continued, focusing on the dismantlement of the legal services project but also aimed at discontinuing all the Council's services in Connecticut.[62] This problem was compounded by the appointment of Howard Phillips, a self-proclaimed "Cato" of the Nixon Administration, who believed that O.E.O. was based on Marxist principles of considering the poor as a class, and who sought to paralyze the federal agency and dismantle its programs.[63] The Connecticut administration applied strong pressure on the Council through Mr. Phillips' office during this period. As part of the Phillips directives, the legal services programs were transferred from the Federally regulated Migrant Division of O.E.O. to the Legal Services Division, whose projects required state ratification. When the Legal Services Division refunded the Council's legal services project in June of 1973, Governor Meskill of Connecticut promptly vetoed the grant award.[64] It appeared that Mr. Phillips would proceed to dismantle all of O.E.O. by eliminating its relative independence from state and local politicians, but his resignation under pressure from the Congressional advocates of O.E.O. later in 1973, slowed this process and gave Community Action Agencies, including the Council, an extended life span. The Council was also assisted in this period of conflict with the Connecticut State Administration by the support of the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico and the office of the Mayor of Hartford, Connecticut, who communicated to O.E.O. their praise of the Council's service and advocacy efforts.

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[61] Executive Director's nine-month report to the Board of Directors, 17 June 1973.

[62] Letter from Rubén Figueroa, Commissioner of the Connecticut State Department of Community Affairs, to Robert Stone, Special Assistant, Office of Legal Services of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1973. Personal files of the author.

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[63] A description of the philosophy of Mr. Phillips and his efforts to dismantle O.E.O. may be found in the Spring 1973 issues of "Economic Opportunity Report," published by Capitol Publications, Inc., Washington, D.C.

[64] The Governors' direct involvement with the Council would not end here. In March 1974, the Governor appealed in person to Peter Brennan, U.S. Secretary of Labor, to transfer funding of migrant programs from the Council to D.C.A. In April, the Governor and state commissioners of the Dept. of Community Affairs, Labor, and Agriculture, met with Ben Burdetsky, a top Dept. of Labor official in another attempt to defund the Council (Hartford Courant, March 7 and April 18, 1974). The only result of these actions was to temporarily delay Council funding, which was resumed for a full year beginning in May of 1974.

Phase 6 (July-October 1973). Farmworker activism was the salient influence on the Council's activities during this period. In June the agency's Board of Directors had elected its first farmworker president and vice-president.[65] Also during that month, a massive one-day work stoppage involving over 400 men had taken place on the main farm labor camp, Camp Windsor, after a young worker was beaten and arrested on the camp by local police. Council representatives at that time met with the workers at their request, and assisted in the development of a workers' committee and a list of grievances presented to the camp administration. The grievances pertained to issues of immediate concerns to the workers, such as the release of the arrested worker; the replacement of town police, who moonlighted as security guards on the camp, with Spanish-speaking private security guards; and the improvement of the food and the dining facilities on the camp. The camp management verbally acceeded to the first and third points immediately, and eventually hired a Spanish-speaking private guard. In addition, it was agreed that the workers' committee would meet regularly with the camp administration to discuss their concerns. However, the lack of a structured and powerful organization within the farmworker community on the camp led to the rapid disintegration of the committee of farmworkers, despite Council efforts to promote further meetings. Most of the conditions preceding the work stoppage recurred.[66]

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[65] Minutes of meeting of N.E.F.W.C. Board of Directors, June 17, 1973.

Farmworker activism on the labor camps during the 1973 agricultural season was promoted by the Asociacion de Trabajadores Agricolas (ATA), a workers' association seeking to represent the farmworkers in the negotiation of grievances and of the farm labor contract with the Growers' Association. A.T.A. was active in New Jersey and Puerto Rico as well as in the Connecticut Valley, and sought the support of the day-haul farmworkers residing in the cities and of the English-speaking community in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Its principal strength, in the opinion of the author, lay in its legal staff, which sought to displace the role of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico in the negotiation of the farm labor contract in favor of A.T.A., which claimed a sufficient membership to negotiate directly with the growers. A.T.A.'s legal actions against the Commonwealth Government were complemented by those of Servicios Legales de Puerto Rico, which under its O.E.O. grant for migrant legal services instituted several suits in 1974 aimed at giving the farmworkers the legal authority to represent themselves in the labor contract process. Detractors of the A.T.A., particularly the Growers' Associations in New Jersey and the Connecticut Valley, claimed that the group's interest in the farmworkers was due to political motivations connected with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. It was the author's observation that workers grew to be sharply divided on the issue of A.T.A.'s political leanings to the detriment of their organization into an effective union. Among A.T.A.'s valuable contributions, however, have been the legal questioning of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Commonwealth governor's involvement in the migrant labor system, and the securing of legal access to Camp Windsor in the Connecticut Valley.[67]

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[66] El Espuelazo, Vol. II, 1973, No. 12. For further discussion of this incident, see Chapter I[illegible] Section C.

Farmworker activism continued in July, with a stoppage of over thirty workers at Southwick camp in Southern Massachusetts. The workers were claiming that the employer was not meeting the 1973 contract guarantee of a minimum of 120 hours of work every three weeks. Employer representatives, perhaps sensitized by the major work stoppage on Camp Windsor in June and A.T.A.'s vocal unionization efforts, descended on the camp immediately after the stoppage began, and agreed to provide more work.[68] It is the author's belief that related events in the weeks following this stoppage were strongly influenced by the perception of the workers at Southwick Camp and elsewhere that they could indeed influence the conditions of their employment. A group of workers from that camp voted at a regular meeting of the Council's Massachusetts Advisory to send a letter to the Governor of Puerto Rico, signed by as many workers as possible, requesting an improvement of living and working conditions for migrants in the Connecticut Valley. The workers drafted the letter at that meeting, and requested the Council to provide them transportation to camps throughout the Connecticut Valley to collect signatures. During the following two weeks these workers addressed their concerns to the residents of the labor camps and gathered 1,078 signatures for their letter to the Governor.

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[67] For a more thorough discussion of A.T.A.'s activities see James Nash, "Migrant Farmworkers in Massachusetts: A Report with Recommendations" (Boston: Massachusetts Council of Churches, 1974).

[68] El Espuelazo, Vol. 2, 1973, No. 12.

The Governor responded on August 28, in a letter addressed through the N.E.F.W.C. to all the farmworker signatories. He indicated his concern for the "genuine grievances" expressed in the workers' letter and said he was referring the matter to the Secretary of Labor for an investigation and for the resolution of those problems which could be dealt with immediately. The Governor further stated that the workers' concerns would be taken into consideration during the negotiations of the 1974 contract, and that plans existed to "find a way in which the workers may be genuinely represented in those negotiations."[69]

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[69] Letter from Rafael Hernández Colón, Governor of Puerto Rico, to Luis Angel Santiago and others, August 28, 1974. A photocopy of the workers' letter, and of the Governor's response, is in the personal files of the author.

A photocopy of the letter was published in El Espuelazo, the Council's newpaper, in September, and discussions of the Governor's response were held on the camps and in meetings of the Council's Regional Advisories in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The workers were enthused by the letter, especially the section calling for the representation of workers in the contract negotiations. It was decided by the original proponents of the petition to the Governor that an election should be held on the camps immediately to select worker representatives to participate in the contract negotiations. The Council communicated the workers' intention to the Commonwealth's Migration Division in New York, in order to elicit a response from the Secretary of Labor. The workers meanwhile proceeded to hold their elections in Massachusetts and Connecticut with the assistance of the Council. Approximately two weeks after these elections, officials of the Migration Division arrived in the Valley to conduct an election of their own, for the purpose of "advising the Secretary of Labor" with respect to the 1974 contract negotiations.[70]

Although the Council advised the Commonwealth representatives that a democratic election had already taken place, these went ahead with a second balloting, in order to have an "official" record. The Council staff did not intervene in the second election, in the hope that it would serve to bring the workers closer to the contract negotiating table. Forty-three persons were selected in the election conducted by the Department of Labor. It is the author's opinion that, even though most of the workers chosen by the workers in the first election were selected in the second, the intervention of the Migration Division at this point diminished the workers' initiative and threw into confusion the emergence of an effective worker leadership. Soon thereafter the workers commenced their return to Puerto Rico , where the Department of Labor was to undertake a series of meetings with the selected worker representatives for the purpose of preparing them for their role of "advising" the Secretary of Labor. It is the author's understanding, through communications with the Migration Division, that several such meetings took place, with little success. Representatives of A.T.A. and of Servicios Legales de Puerto Rico, as well as Adalberto Sanabria, a worker chosen in both elections held in the Connecticut Valley, have informed the author that the "advisory" meetings with the Secretary of Labor and other officials were a failure. These events further dissipated the development of farmworker initiative and leadership.

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[70] Conversation with Ralph Muñiz, Farm Program Director, Migration Division, September 1973.

During the 1974 agricultural season, no worker elections were held, and while the Migration Division requested opinions from all concerned parties with regard to the 1975 contract, no workers participated in the contract negotiation process. As has been stated above, it is the author's opinion that the failure of the Puerto Rican government to legitimately include workers in the contract negotiation process during 1973 and 1974 was due to apathy, to bureaucratic ineffectiveness, and to possible fear of the political sensitivity of the migrant issue.[71]

The Council's relationship with the Commonwealth government was not entirely unproductive during this period, however. In September, Mr. Luis A. Betances, Cooperative Development Director of the Cooperative Development Administration of the Commonwealth government, visited the Council to further discuss the prospect of establishing a credit union for farmworkers in Connecticut and Massachusetts which would eventually evolve into a multiple services cooperative and serve Puerto Rican migrants in other states. During his visit Mr. Betances called for the performance of a study, under the sponsorship of the Administration, to determine the feasibility of establishing such a credit union. The study was conducted at the end of the agricultural season, and showed the credit union to be socially and economically feasible.[72] The credit union is scheduled to begin its services to the farmworker community in the Spring of 1975.

The Council continued to develop internally during this last phase of the 1973 agricultural season. Additional full-time staff members for the educational program were obtained through the University Year for Action program at the University of Massachusetts. The migrant health project also experienced an increase in its grant from H.E.W. The veto of the agency's legal services by Governor Meskill was somewhat offset by the funding of the migrant legal services program in Puerto Rico, which would send attorneys and paraprofessionals to the Connecticut Valley in 1974 in order to gather information for litigation in Puerto Rico. The override of the Meskill veto in 1974 allowed the Council's delegate to work in full coordination with the Puerto Rico project during that season.

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[71] This last factor will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

[72] Martín Hernández-Ramírez, "Estudio de Viabilidad Economica y Social Para Establecer una Cooperative de Ahorro y Credito entre los Migrantes Agricolas Puertorriquenos en Nueva Inglaterra." San Ju Administracion de Fomento Cooperativo, 1974 (mimeographed).

The migrant programs were transferred to the Department of Labor in the latter part of 1973, where the migrant grantees such as the Council found that their advocacy and community development roles would be de-emphasized in favor of an expansion of vocational education and job placement functions. In 1974, funds for the migrant programs under O.E.O. were terminated, and services to farmworkers were destined to be funded under the manpower-oriented Comprehensive Employment and Training Act.[73] Council activities during 1975, other than health services, are governed by this Act and the guidelines administered for it by the Department of Labor. The C.E.T.A. calls for greater emphasis on vocational training and other job-related education services, and does not stress advocacy efforts on behalf of farmworkers as much as the Economic Opportunity Act.

A great deal of attention has been given in Part B of this

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[73] Statutes at Large.

Chapter to interactions among various elements of the system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley. These interactions, in the author's belief, have served to influence the behavior of these elements toward each other. The Council, in particular, has sought to influence other elements of the system in what it has perceived to be the best interest of the farmworkers. Chapter IV of this study will discuss four experiences which the author has judged to be of significance in their influence on selected elements of the migrant labor system.

CHAPTER IV

FOUR NEFWC ACTIVITIES

Presented in this chapter are four prototypic activities involving the New England Farm Workers' Council which the author has chosen as being of significance in their influence on selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. These activities, which took place during 1972 and 1973, have been selected on the basis of their relevance to the three principal goals of the NEFWC: the provision of services to farmworkers, advocacy of their expressed interests, and the promotion of self-determination among the farmworker community. The activities, each of which is comprised of several related events, are the following:

A. In-service training of the staff and Board Directors of the Council. This section will evaluate five major in-service training sessions involving members of the Council staff and Board.

B. Education services offered by the Council staff to farmworkers on the migrant labor camps. Discussed will be staff selection, curriculum, materials and equipment, learning environments, and evaluations of the educational services by staff members and outside evaluators.

C. Farmworker efforts to influence the conditions of their employment. Work stoppages and worker petitions will be discussed, as well as self-expression of farmworkers through the Council's Regional Advisories, Board of Directors and Spanish-language newspaper, El Espuelazo.

D. Interactions involving the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the farmowrker community and the NEFWC. This section will place the Council's efforts to promote greater farmworker participation in the development and enforcement of the farm labor contract in the context of the role of the government of Puerto Rico in the migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland.

In addressing these four activities, the author will draw upon preceding chapters of this study and also bring to bear relevant information not discussed earlier.

A. Training Sessions for the Staff and Board of Directors of the NEFWC.

During 1972 and 1973, five major training sessions for Council members took place, three involving the staff and two involving the Board of Directors. Although other training meetings took place during this period, they were of more limited scope and duration. This section will be devoted to an examination of the five principal sessions. Attention will also be given to special training sessions attended by the author as Executive Director of the NEFWC.

The training sessions held for Council staff members during 1972 and 1973 were aimed at three major objectives: the development of the staff into a cohesive working group, the clarification of long and short range agency goals, and the establishment of operational procedures for the Council as a whole and for each of its components. Training of the staff usually took place before the arrival of the migrants in March, or at the end of the agricultural season. The sessions were conducted by the Council's administrative staff and component directors, or by Interstate Research Associates, a Mexican-American consulting firm under contract with the Council and the migrant Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In addition to these formal agency-wide training sessions, each component conducted on-going training of its staff members based on its experiences during the agricultural season as well as orientation training for new staff members. Priorities and procedures for training were arrived at through meetings of the entire staff and of component directors. At those times when Interstate Research Associates conducted the training, an assessment of the staff's training needs was presented to the trainers previous to the session.

The first major training session of Council staff was held in June, 1972, conducted by Interstate Research Associates under a contract with the agency for training of its staff and Board members. The chief purpose of the two-day session, held at Springfield College, was to develop the staff as a working team. A series of team-building exercises were carried out, based largely on a behavioral approach to organizational development.[1] This was followed by a series of exercises designed to build an awareness among all the staff members of the Council's structure, permanent goals, and goals for 1972 under its grant from O.E.O. Utilized for this purpose were the agency's organization chart, bylaws, and grant award agreements with the funding agency. Emphasis was placed in promoting maximum participation of the entire staff in developing the methods by which the organization's goals were to be carried out. During this phase of the session it became evident that profound divisions existed among component directors and administrative staff with regard to leadership roles within the agency and the methods to be used for reaching its objectives.[2] These internal divisions would continue through the summer and culminate in the organizational crisis described in Chapter III under Phase 4 of the Council's development.

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[1] Two influential exponents of this approach to management and organizational development are Douglas McGregor, author of The Human Side of Enterprise (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960), and Frederick Herzberg, author of Work and the Nature of Man (New York: World Publishing Co., 1966). Other valuable books on the subject are Harry Levinson, The Exceptional Executive (New York: Mentor Books, 1971), and Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, Management of Organizational Behavior 2nd. ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972).

[2] Conversation with Cruz Chavira, Director of Training, Interstate Research Associates, San Antonio, Texas, at NEFWC, Sept. 1972. Some training models utilized by I.R.A. for team-building and goal and role clarification during this and subsequent sessions may be found in Pfeifer and Jones, A Handbook of Structured Experiences in Human Relations Training, 3 Vols. (Iowa City: University Associates Press, 1970).

The next training session for all staff members would be held in February, 1973. Meanwhile, in November 1972, the author attended a week-long training session for Executive Directors of Community Action Agencies, held in Washington under O.E.O. sponsorship by Leadership Institute for Community Development, Inc., a management training firm. The emphasis of this session was also on the behavioral aspects of organizational management. Goal setting, problem solving, group dynamics, and case studies were included in the program. In the author's opinion, the most lasting benefit of this session, beyond the acquisition of planning and evaluation techniques, was the opportunity it afforded for managers to discuss their work in a no-risk atmosphere over a period of several days.[3] Further management training for the author took place in August, 1973, during an international conference on the subject of Management by Objectives, held at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. The principal speaker at the two-day conference was George S. Odiorne, a chief exponent of the MBO system and now dean of the School of Business Administration at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Adapted versions of some of the models used in MBO system were subsequently implemented at the NEFWC.[4]

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[3] A paper analyzing this training session was presented to Prof. Kenneth Blanchard of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts in the Fall semester, 1972. A model for the problem-solving taken from this session was utilized for training Council staff in February 1974: N.E.F.W.C., "Unidad de Trabajo, Como Resolver Problemas," mimeographed. Personal files of the author.

[4] See Appendix 5, NEFWC STAFF PLANNING FORM BASED ON ORGANIZATIONAL

The training session of the staff carried out in Springfield on February 5, 6, and 7, 1973, was comprised of exercises designed for team building, clarification of agency and component goals, and development of job-related skills. The session was conducted by the author and other Council staff members. It began with a questionnaire, to be completed anonymously by each staff member, covering the Council's history, goals, structure, staffing, daily functions, and other topics. The same questionnaire was administered at the end of the training session, and showed a clear increase in the staff's knowledge of the agency and its functions. One significant result of the training was a rise in camaraderie among the staff, which had previously been disunited and discouraged by the divisive crisis in the agency during the Fall and Winter of 1972.[5] A detailed review of this training session may be found in Appendix 6-c, author's paper entitled "Review of the In-House Training session for the New and Old Staff of the NEFWC, February 5, 6, and 7, 1973." Around this same time, staff members of the Council's new migrant health project received training in paraprofessional medical skills, provided by the agency's medical services contractors and by the

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OBJECTIVES. Also see George S. Odiorne, *Management by Objectives* (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1965). Odiorne's is generally considered the fundamental book on MBO. Another major, and earlier, work related to MBO is Peter Drucker, *Managing for Results* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

[5] See Appendix 6-a, QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED AT BEGINNING AND END OF NEFWC STAFF TRAINING, FEB. 5-7, 1973. Also, Appendix 6-b, "Comparison of Responses to Questionnaire Completed by Council Staff Before and After Training Session of February 5, 6, and 7, 1973."

Community Care Center of Springfield, a health services organization.

The next training effort of the Council staff took place in August and September, 1973. Ten training meetings, conducted by agency staff, were held during a two week period. The sessions stressed the development of skills related to the presentation of educational programs for farmworkers and the facilitation of discussion in worker meetings. In addition, the staff evaluated the agency's work during the current agricultural season and suggested agency goals for the 1974 season. A signed questionnaire was completed during the training period, aimed at ascertaining the staff's view of existing work procedures and performance. Each member was also requested to develop written questions and recommendations of their own for submission to the toal staff. This helped reflect particular areas of concern and involved each member in the overall training process. As a whole, responses to the questionnaire and comments by the staff suggested that the training contributed to a broader perception of the agency's functions. When asked in a separate questionnaire to compare their experiences on the job and in the training sessions, the staff generally indicated that they learned more about the agency as a whole through training sessions and more about their jobs through experience.[6]

Two major training sessions involving the Board of Directors took place during 1972 and 1973, under the direction of Interstate Research Associates. The first significant session took place in September of 1972, during a weekend retreat in Northfield, Massachusetts for the newly elected Board, composed of a majority of migrants. This session took place in the context of the agency-wide crisis, described in Phase 4 of Chapter III, which had divided the staff late in the summer and resulted in the election of two former agency staff members to the Board in September. At this session, the IRA trainers concentrated on building the Board as a working group and familiarizing them with the agency's proposal to O.E.O. for services in 1973. The tension of the crisis within the agency was evident throughout the weekend, and the group discussions of the Directors gradually focused on a key word, generally utilized at that time to describe the struggle within the agency: "manipulación," manipulation. The migrants soon became aware of the power of their voice and vote on the Board, and of efforts to influence or "manipulate" that power by one or another individual in the agency. This training session was valuable for several reasons: it gave the newly elected members the opportunity to get to know one another in a short period of time; it allowed for the explosive conflict within the agency to be discussed with the assistance of professional group facilitators from IRA; and it gave the Board an opportunity to analyze its corporate rights and responsibilities with regard to O.E.O., the agency's principal funding source at the time.[7]

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[6] Questionnaires submitted to NEFWC staff, August and September, 1973. Personal files of author. Also, see Appendix 7, SCHEDULE OF STAFF TRAINING SESSIONS, August-September, 1973.

The next Board training session took place at the Council's main office in Springfield in the summer of 1973, and was again moderated by IRA. Francisco Gonzales, a former Director who was a leader of the workers' committee during the Camp Windsor work stoppage described in Chapter III, commented in an interview that the session helped to develop discipline and order among the members comprising the Board and helped him differentiate between the wishes of the entire group and the pressure of one or a few vocal Directors. This distinction, he said, became clearer through training than through normal Board meetings.[8] Two members who were on the Board through 1972 and 1973, Ismael Martinez and Heriberto Flores, stated that they had learned important lessons during the course of their functions as Directors. Mr. Martinez, now Chairman of the Board and an ex-migrant, stated that he had "lost fear" of government officials during difficult negotiations for grant awards to the Council in which he had participated.[9] Francisco Gonzales said he had learned during meetings at the time of the Camp Windsor work stoppage that officials of the Commonwealth government who had voiced support for the workers during the stoppage were later reluctant to confront the farm labor employers with worker grievances. To Heriberto Flores, the lessons of his experience on the Board lay principally in the need for the agency to develop allies in government and to promote unity among the Board and staff of the agency.

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[7] Interview with Ismael Martinez, President of the NEFWC and former migrant; Heriberto Flores, Treasurer of the NEFWC; and Francisco Gonzalez, former migrant Director, March 16, 1974. Tape recording of interview is in the author's personal file.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

Abelardo Morales, a Board trainer with IRA who has conducted several sessions with the Council since 1973, expressed in an interview that the training sessions and membership on the board had given migrants an opportunity to promote the well-being of the farmworker community and the chance to learn the skills of working in a group and directing the course of an organization. Commenting on the ability of the workers on the NEFWC Board to operate in a complex group, Morales said that "they seemed to be developing [the] skill of knowing exactly where they were, what they wanted, where the other individual was, what he wanted, and how to influence him."[10]

In summary, it may be said that the five major training sessions involving the staff and Board sought to build working groups, clarify the Council's objectives, and establish procedures for carrying out agency functions. The training session of June 1972 succeeded in bringing group attention to growing conflicts within the staff. Questionnaires completed during the sessions of February and August, 1973, indicated an increased awareness among the staff of the agency's purpose and functions. Interviews with Board members and one of the principal training consultants to the Council indicate that the two major Board training sessions examined succeeded in building the Board as a working group and providing its members with adequate information for reaching policy decisions. It may be, therefore, concluded that the five training sessions discussed achieved their general objectives and were of significance to Council members.

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[10] Interview with Abelardo Morales, Inter-America Research Associates, Washington, D.C., Fall 1973. A recording of this interview is in the personal files of the author.

B. Educational Services Offered by the Council to Migrant Farmworkers

As stated in Chapter III, the Council offered farmworkers educational services during 1972 and 1973. These may be classified into two general categories, pre-vocational education and "survival" education. The first was geared to preparing the farmworker for the acquisition of a job outside migrant farm labor, and included basic English, Spanish literacy, computational skills, drivers' education, and orientations toward the requirements of particular employers. The second was designed to help the workers acquire the skills and awareness necessary for effective functioning the foreign society to which they are exposed during their stay in New England. Moreover, it addressed the need for the farmworkers to protect and rpomote their interests within the migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. "Survival" education services included consumer education, orientation toward the workers' rights and responsibilities under the farm labor contract, orientation toward the cultural and legal characteristics of their environment in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and discussion of the living and working conditions of farmworkers, particularly as they apply to the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system described in Chapter I of this study. Topic areas for pre-vocational education programs were largely determined by the requirements of the labor market in western New England and by the guidelines of the agency's funding source, the Office of Economic Opportunity. Topics for "survival" education projects came from a variety of sources, such as discussions among the Council staff and with the workers at the camps and in the urban farmworker communities; concerns expressed by workers in letters to the editor of the Council newspaper, El Espuelazo, and in meetings of the Board of Directors and the Regional Advisories; and from situations arising out of the migrant farm labor system, such as worker grievances, legal problems between workers and local authorities, and violations and deficiencies of the farm labor contract.

Education services were provided by Council staff members of the outreach, education and manpower and job placements components. The outreach component was composed largely of ex-farmworkers, who were trained and guided by members of the education component to provide education services. The education component was assigned to the central office during most of 1972, and concentrated on developing curricula and materials and securing adequate equipment for the provision of services through the regional offices. During the 1973 season, this staff was decentralized and assigned to work out of the regional centers. The staff was comprised entirely of persons with university background, most of whom had training in education. The manpower or job development component was charged with providing the education component with information regarding the needs of the labor market in the Connecticut Valley area and the basic requirements of sepcific industrial employers. In addition, members of this component oriented groups of farmworkers and individual migrants to the realities of employment in the Connecticut Valley area.

Selection of the staff assigned to provide educational services was based on experience and competence in the techniques of teaching, development of curricula and materials and a demonstrated ability to work with farmworkers. Sensitivity to the cultural characteristics of the Puerto Rican migrant farmworker community was especially sought. All education staff was required to have at least a working knowledge of Spanish, except for some basic English instructors, who were selected specifically to determine the feasibility of teaching farmworkers English without the use of Spanish. Emphasis was placed on the role of the instructors as facilitators of group discussions, particularly in the "survival" education programs. Instructors for the education services during 1972 and 1973 came from a variety of sources: full-time employees of the Council with professional and farmworker background, part-time teachers, including graduate students from the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts and from the University of Connecticut, and VISTA volunteers selected by the Council staff from colleges in Western Massachusetts.

The educational services were performed within three basic formats: classes, modular presentations, and group discussions. Topic areas were presented in whichever format rendered them most effective. In a class, the instructor and a relatively constant group of workers met regularly in the evenings to cover pre-determined topic areas. Continuity from one meeting to another was a main characteristic of this format. Basic English, Spanish literacy, and drivers' education were usually performed in this manner. Tutoring of individual workers in these topic areas was also undertaken in a class format, with Council instructors meeting regularly with individual workers. As proficiency levels within a topic area tended to vary among the participants in a class, even after pre-screening, tutoring was included as an integral part of the class format. The time frame for covering topic areas within this format was usually flexible, depending primarily on the progress of the participants.

A meeting of Council staff with a group of workers to provide them with information regarding a particular predetermined topic constituted a modular presentation. These presentations were made before groups of workers assembled for the purpose, and were usually not related to topics covered in classes or in other presentations. This format was often utilized to inform workers of services rendered by the Council. Health and consumer education, and information from the manpower component regarding the labor market situation were often offered in a presentation format. Council staff members often prepared the presentations in the form of theatrical skits, a technique which drew a great deal of attention from the workers and participation in the subsequent discussion. The skits were generally presented live, or with the use of the agency's videorecording equipment. Two of these presentations, "El Contrato," pertaining to the farm labor contract, and "El Pancho," about the traveling salesmen who sell the migrants overpriced merchandise, were used successfully during the 1972 and 1973 seasons.[11]

The third format utilized in the education programs was that of a group discussion. This consisted of meetings of workers at the camps or the Council's regional centers, usually conducted by the center director and the outreach staff. Topics for these discussions came from concerns expressed by the workers, major articles in El Espuelazo, or issues identified by the Council staff or Board of Directors as being of interest to the workers. A short presentation by the staff usually served to begin the discussion, inviting the workers to address themselves to the issue at hand or bring up concerns of their own. The staff's role subsequent to this would be limited to facilitating the discussion, by means such as permitting one speaker at a time or summarizing the major points of a statement or of the discussion as a whole.[12] Meetings of the Council's Regional Advisories, held every other Sunday during the agricultural season, usually followed the discussion format. Among the principal benefits derived by farmworkers from this format were the opportunity to talk about common concerns in an organized manner and the development of leadership among the farmworker community. An example of the results of the discussion format was the petition to the Governor of Puerto Rico initiated and carried out by members of the Council's Regional Advisory in Western Massachusetts, to be further discussed in Section C of this chapter.

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[11] El Espuelazo, Vol. 1 (1972), No. 1.

The Council's educational program relied to a significant degree on audio-visual learning aids for both pre-vocational and "survival" education programs. The chief advantages of utilizing these aids lay in the reduced dependence they placed on the literacy level of the participants in the education program, and in the variety of media they offered the instructor or facilitator in presenting material. The Council's multi-media educational equipment was assembled in 1972 by Clodomiro Cabañas, then a graduate student in the

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[12] A few of the techniques utilized by Council staff in these discussions may be found in Pfeifer and Jones, The 1972 Annual Handbook for Group Facilitators (Iowa City: University Associates, 1972).

Media Center of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts. The inventory includes video recording and monitoring systems, overhead, slide, and film projectors, tape recorders, still and moving photography equipment, and a darkroom facility. A sufficient number of these pieces of equipment was on hand to enable members of the education staff to simultaneously present material at various locations throughout the Connecticut Valley. The entire outreach and education staff of the Council was trained in the use of this equipment, and a number of farmworkers each year received instruction in its use and assisted in its utilization during classes and presentations. Nearly all topic areas of instruction relied to a greater or lesser degree on multi-media equipment and materials, which were also used during training of the Council staff and in meetings of the agency's Board of Directors and Regional Advisories. For an example of the use of overhead projections in the Spanish literacy program, see Appendix 8, "Report on Paulo Freire Method Literacy Training Classes," prepared by Julia M. Ramos McKay, a teaching consultant with the Council during the 1972 agricultural season. In addition to audio-visual materials, the education staff utilized the Council newspaper, El Espuelazo, as a source of materials for use in classes, presentations, and discussions.

The education staff sought to make its services as accessible as possible to the farmworkers. In view of their lack of means of transportation and their general state of physical fatigue at the end of the day, education services were generally provided on the farm labor camps. Instructors, equipment, and materials were transported to the camps on agency vans or by private vehicle. Instruction was provided in the camp's dining hall or, when conditions permitted, outdoors. As the dining hall in many camps was shared with a television set and a billiards table, instruction was sometimes difficult, and alternative sites were sought. On the main labor camp in Windsor, Connecticut, the staff was given use of the camp chapel for educational activities, and in Southwick, Massachusetts, a church hall was utilized. Education services also went on at the Regional centers in the evenings for those camps in the vicinity. Presentations and discussions involving large groups of farmworkers from several camps also took place at the center.

Several evaluations of the education programs offered during 1972 and 1973 have been made, both by outside evaluators under contract with O.E.O. and by Council staff members. The evaluation made by Development Associates, Inc., for O.E.O. in July 1972 was largely a performance-oriented survey, designed to assess the Council's progress toward goals established in its grant agreement with O.E.O. These evaluators found the Council to be moving satisfactorily toward the establishment of the education program, and limited their recommendations to urging that the agency improve its record-keeping of participants in the education program (see Table 4).

Further evaluations, performed later in the season by Council personnel, provided a broader overview of the effectiveness of the agency's education services during its first season and focused on areas of concern not covered in the Development Associates evaluation. By the end of the 1972 agricultural season in November, staff had been hired, equipment purchased, materials prepared, and instruction offered in the basic topic areas outlined in Table 4. The pre-vocational education programs requiring an established curriculum and trained instructors, such as basic English and drivers' education, were fully developed only toward the end of the season, and experienced limited success. Presentations and discussions, which called for less extensive preparation and did not require an extended commitment by participating farmworkers, were implemented earlier in the season and reached a greater number of workers.[13] One principal drawback to the 1972 education effort was the small number of Council staff assigned to instructor or facilitator functions. During the 1973 season, the education staff was augmented with full-time and part-time instructors possessing a specific university background in education, and staff members already in the outreach components were given training and assignments in education activities.

The Spanish literacy project conducted in Connecticut during the summer of 1972 deserves special attention here. The initial objective of this service was to raise the literacy level of Puerto Rican migrants and to use the workers' literacy skills in Spanish to help them learn basic English. However, the methodology utilized to implement the project served a second objective, that of promoting self-determination among the farmworker community. The Council's education staff had identified the Paulo Freire method, utilizing "generative themes," as an effective tool for both developing literacy skills among adults and promoting individual self-determination.[14] Late in the Spring, members of the education staff attended a workshop directed by Paulo Freire in New York, and an instructor familiar with the method, Julia Ramos, was employed in June to implement the program.

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[13] For accounts of the 1972 education program, see El Espuelazo, Vol. 1 (1972), Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11.

The program went on for approximately three months. Classes were held at the Regional center on Tuesdays and Thursdays, with a typical group of about seven workers. The Freire method had to be adapted to the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers, most of whom possessed some degree of literacy.[15] Overhead projections of diagrams depicting scenes from the daily life and work of the migrants were presented, in order to stimulate discussion. Then "generative" words were introduced, discussed, divided into sounds, and assembled into different word fragments, or "families" of sounds. The first word used was "trabajo." A series of questions was asked about the meaning of the word to the participants, and then the word was divided into sounds and "families." Other words used were "tabaco" and "cosecha." The literacy class was successful in familiarizing the participants with the structure and the variety of meanings attached to words they used every day. The program suffered from the lack of a tested body of materials, as these were prepared before each lesson; from student attrition and turnover; and from the lack of a suitable site for classes, as the Regional Center was often shared with other activities. No illiterate farmworker learned to read through this new and brief education experience. However, Ms. Ramos indicates that the important contribution of the class lay in the discussions elicited among the workers by the presentation of the "generative" words, which served the workers in "imparting a sense of identity, confidence in their own ideas, and a sense of having something worthwhile to say."[16] The program was continued only informally in 1973, due to the lack of teacher sufficiently familiar with the Freire method.

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[14] Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, proposed the philosophical foundation and the methodology for an educational program designed to at once develop literacy among large numbers of illiterates and promote their active participation in society. The Freire methodology is based on the use of "generative" words, taken from the daily work and life of the illiterates, which promote discussion and may be broken down into units of sound and letters for combination into other words. See Appendix 8 for a report on the Council's implementation of this method. Also see Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971) and La Educacion Como Practica de la Libertad (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, Octubre 1973).

[15] See Chapter II, "Characteristics of the farmworker population in the Connecticut Valley." In Appendix 8, Ms. Ramos indicates that only two of the participating farmworkers were totally illiterate; the rest were "functionally literate," possessing a limited ability to read and write.

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[16] See Appendix 8.

An assessment of the 1973 education services from an outside viewpoint was included in the evaluation of the Council prepared for O.E.O. by Amex Systems, Inc., in August of that year.[17] This evaluation found that the agency had provided insturction in basic prevocational English to 246 farmworkers, out of a goal for the provision of these services to 250 workers. The evaluators, moreover, found that "the placement of former prevocational English students in jobs substantiates the adequacy of the job-related and survival English being taught."[18] Teacher and student turnover were pointed out by the evaluators as deficiencies in the overall education program.

Five separate evaluations of the education effort were performed by the Council staff during 1973.[19] Teacher and student turnover were identified as problems in three of these. Teacher turnover was largely attributable to the nature of the teachers' employment, as most were semi-volunteers who were paid approximately the cost of their expenses of traveling to and from the class sites. Student turnover in the classes was due to various reasons, including lack of interest in the subject matter, physical fatigue after a day's work in the fields, and the disruption of classes by other activities going on in the labor camp. Turnover of instructors often had the negative effect of limiting the staff's experience and expertise in the topic areas of instruction. Although most instructors left after the completion of their course, the continuity of the program was adversely influenced by teacher departures. The Connecticut education component suffered in particular from a lack of trained instructors for part-time or full-time education services, unlike Massachusetts, where numerous skilled teachers and facilitators were available through the University of Massachusetts and several colleges in the area.

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[17] See Table 5.

[18] Amex Systems, El Segundo, Calif., "An Evaluation of the New England Farmworkers' Council, Incorporated," submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity under Contract Number B3B-5467; SBA Section 8(a), August 15, 1973.

[19] Personal records of the author.

Two pilot projects in vocational education were offered through the Council during the 1973 agricultural season. One was Project Model, which featured a mobile classroom completely equipped for multi-media instruction in small engine repair, a full-time instructor, and a bilingual translator. The program, sponsored by the Massachusetts Department of Education and the Council, was offered in eight-hour sessions five days a week, and the mobile classroom was stationed next to the Council's main office in Springfield. The daytime training schedule, regulated by the state sponsors, prevented the participation of employed farmworkers, and the pilot nature of the project prevented its being advertised in the Springfield community by means other than word-of-mouth. As a result, enrollment was minimal, and the program succeeded only in demonstrating that it could be adminsitered on behalf of non-English speaking participants with the use of translators. The second vocational education effort was a class in sheet-metal work, organized by the Council and the Smith Vocational High School in Northampton. The program was offered in the evenings and was open to migrants from the camps in the northern Connecticut Valley. Classes were taught by an accredited teacher from the Smith school in the school's fully equipped workshop. Participants were carefully screened for motivation and basic skills for entry into the class, and transportation and an interpreter were provided by the Council. Of the sixteen migrants selected for the class, only three completed the course. A Council evaluation of this result indicated that the participants had either left the labor camp for Puerto Rico or elsewhere or lost interest in the class. The principal reasons given for this loss of interest were physical exhaustion and the monotonous atmosphere of life on the labor camp, which led workers to attend a few classes as a form of diversion and then drop out.

The internal evaluations indicated that short courses in prevocational education topics, utilizing a variety of instructional media, were the most successful. In addition, presentations and discussions in the area of "survival" education attracted the greatest attention and participation. While the pre-vocational education programs offered a distant goal of full-time, remunerative employment outside the migrant labor system, the presentations and discussion dealt with immediate concerns of the workers, such as reading a paycheck, understanding the farm labor contract and the dynamics of its development and learning about the rights of the arrested and about the immediate availability of industrial jobs in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Moreover, the presentations and discussions on a number of occasions contributed to direct efforts by the workers to improve their living and working conditions, such as the petition to the Governor of Puerto Rico and the subsequent effort to secure farmworker participation in the negotiation of the farm labor contract, discussed in Chapter III of this study.

It may be concluded on the basis of the evaluations performed by Council staff and of the author's observations that the pre-vocational and vocational education services offered during 1972 and 1973 experienced very limited success. Factors influencing this limited success included high attrition and turnover of students and teachers, and the lack of tested materials and methods of instruction. However, one significant accomplishment during this period was the assembling of adequate equipment and the testing of materials and education methods designed specifically to meet the education needs of Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers, a task which heretofore had not been undertaken in the Connecticut Valley. Testing of methods and materials during this period resulted in the determination that the most successful pre-vocational education classes shared several characteristics. One was multi-media presentation of subject matter, which placed a reduced dependence on the literacy level of the participants. Another was the presentation of subject matter in largely self-contained modules, which decreased dependence on regular attendance at classes by the farmworkers. A third was the extensive use of individual tutoring, in order to compensate for the varying proficiency levels among the members of a class.

It may also be concluded that the presentation and discussion formats, utilized largely in the "survival" education program, gained significant attention and participation by the farmworkers, as they dealt with topics of immediate interest to them. An example of the implementation of the presentation and discussion formats was the biweekly meeting of the Council's Regional Advisories, in which groups of ten to thirty workers from various labor camps met to share their concerns. The petition to the Governor of Puerto Rico by 1,078 migrants, to be discussed in Section C of this chapter, was a direct result of discussions held at the Regional Advisories.

C. Farmworker Efforts to Influence the Conditions of Their Employment

During the 1972 and 1973 agricultural seasons, a number of efforts took place among farmworkers seeking to change the conditions of daily life and work in the Puerto Rican migrant labor system. Some of these actions were in the nature of protests, such as the massive work stoppage at Camp Windsor mentioned in Chapter III. Others were organized efforts to bring about the cooperation of other elements in the system, such as the petition sent to the Governor of Puerto Rico and the directives of the farmworker members of the Council's Board of Directors to petition for the inclusion of farmworkers under unemployment compensation laws. Still others were expressions of individual migrants, amplified to reach other workers through publication in the Council's newspaper, El Espuelazo. All these efforts sought, directly or indirectly, to increase the influence of workers within the system. As such, they were related to the Council's goal of promoting self-determination among the farmworker community. This section will deal with three examples of this sort of effort. One will be the Camp Windsor work stoppage, focussing on events following the stoppage and especially the presentation of worker grievances to the camp management. Another will be an analysis of the activities of the farmworkers members of the Regional Advisory Council pertaining to submission of the petition to the Governor of Puerto Rico. The third example to be discussed will be specific actions of farmworkers on the Council's Board of Directors aimed at the improvement of living and working conditions on the labor camps, and the expression of farmworker concerns by individual migrants through the Council newspaper, El Espuelazo.

As mentioned in Chapter III, a work stoppage took place on Camp Windsor on June 12, 1973, involving over 400 workers residing at that facility. The stoppage was prompted by the dismissal of a young worker and his forcible arrest during the previous evening at the front gate of the camp. On the morning of the stoppage, a group of young workers, some armed with baseball bats, blocked access to the buses waiting to take camp residents to the fields, calling for a general work stoppage. The overwhelming majority of the migrants did not board the buses, although it was reported that only few of them expressed intimidation by the protest.[20] A telephone call by the protesting workers was placed to the Council, and agency staff members arrived at the camp soon thereafter and helped organize a committee to meet with the camp management. The stoppage continued throughout the day. The workers' committee and Council representatives met that evening at the agency's regional center in Windsor Locks and developed a list of worker grievances to be discussed with the camp management the following afternoon.[21] Meanwhile, the Growers' Association dropped trespassing charges against the arrested worker and returned him to the camp, from which he had been expelled the previous evening without the opportunity to collect his belongings. The attendance at the meeting on June 13 consisted of the Executive Director of the Growers' Association, the Director of the Hartford office of the Migration Division of the Commonwealth government Council, Baudilio Acosta, the expelled worker, and a few members of the group that had led the work stoppage and verbalized the worker grievances the previous evening. The grievances were presented in writing, exactly as they had been formulated by the workers, and discussed for a period of several hours. By the end of the sessions the representative of the Commonwealth Government fell to lecturing the workers regarding the provisions of the farm labor contract. An argument ensued between the Commonwealth representative and the workers, and the camp management in the end concretely acceded only to instruct the kitchen staff not to use plastic eating utensils more than once. A plan was agreed to for further meetings with the workers' committee, but the Council was unsuccessful in gathering together the workers again. Although the work stoppage and the negotiating session that followed failed to achieve lasting benefits for the workers, the mistreated worker involved did return to work, and the author thereafter perceived greater caution on the part of camp managers in their treatment of workers. The incident, nevertheless, pointed out the need for a permanent and well organized vehicle within the farmworker community itself for the handling of grievances and worker concerns.

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[20] El Espuelazo, Vol. II (1973), No. 12.

[21] See Appendix 9, WORKER GRIEVANCES AT CAMP WINDSOR WORK STOPPAGE, June 12, 1973.

The succession of events surrounding the petition by 1,078 migrants to the Governor of Puerto Rico has been presented in Chapter III of this study. This section will focus on the author's perception of the changes in the attitudes of workers involved in these events toward the possibility of participating effectively in the negotiation and enforcement of the migrant farm labor contract. It is the author's principal observation that many workers were disappointed in their expectations of the ability or desire of officials of the Commonwealth government to include them in the contract process, and discouraged from further efforts to seek the government's cooperation in improving their living and working conditions. This observation is based on the author's conversation with workers involved in these events and on examination of their record of participation in activities on behalf of the farmworker community before and after the aforementioned events.

The petition by 1,078 workers to the Governor of Puerto Rico in July 1973 came out of a meeting of the Council's Massachusetts Regional Advisory, a loose group of workers from labor camps in the Massachusetts area of the Connecticut River Valley whose role was to elect among themselves members of the Board of Directors of the NEFWC and counsel the agency with respect to farmworker concerns and the performance of the agency's services. The elected president of this advisory, and one of the chief proponents of the petition to the Governor, was a middle-aged worker who had participated in a work stoppage in a camp in Southwick, Massachusetts in June.[22]

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[22] The name of this worker, and that of others discussed in this section, is withheld at the discretion of the author, in order to protect their employment with the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association. The Council has record of workers blackballed from employment by the Association for participating in advocacy efforts. For a description of the stoppage at Southwick Camp and a transcript of the letter petitioning the Governor, see El Espuelazo, Vol. II (1973), No. 15.

It was the belief of this and other workers, expressed at the Regional Advisory meetings and at the farm labor camps they visited to collect signatures for the petition, that the Governor would move to improve the farm labor contract once he was made aware of the workers' problems through the petition.[23] Such a belief was probably based, in the author's opinion, on the distinction they drew between the Governor, perceived as a powerful and benign individual who would expectedly be concerned about his migrant "compatriots," and the Department of Labor, generally considered by the migrants as an onerous and indifferent bureaucracy.[24] When the Governor responded, the workers were elated. They especially took to heart the Governor's stated intention of including workers in the labor contract process (see Appendix 4a), and moved in a meeting to conduct an election of workers to participate in the contract negotiations. After this election of workers took place, representatives of the Commonwealth's Migration Division arrived to conduct their own election, for the stated puerpose of selecting a group of workers to "advise" the Secretary of Labor regarding the 1974 contract. The duplicate election and its nebulous "advisory" objective, in the author's opinion, blunted the momentum workers were developing toward their cohesion as a group and toward the development of farmworker leadership. After the return of the workers to Puerto Rico, Migration Division officials sought several meetings with the farmworker representatives, for the purpose of orienting them toward the labor contract process. Ralph Muñiz, director of the Farm Program of the Migration Division, said in a conversation with the author that the workers apparently lost interest in the issue after their return to Puerto Rico, and that attendance at the meetings was scant. Two members of the Council's Board of Directors elected to participate in the process said in the Spring of 1974 that the Department of Labor meetings were disorganized and held at locations inconvenient to the workers, and that two meetings held with the Secretary of Labor and other officials were inconclusive. It seems that these events during the winter of 1973 in Puerto Rico had a discouraging effect on at least three workers who had been leaders in the petition process. Although all three returned to the Connecticut Valley as migrants in 1974, only one resumed his position on the Council's Board of Directors, and the other specifically declined to take place in worker meetings at their camps or in any Council activities. Council staff in the Spring of 1974 in addition reported an overall decline in farmworker activism on the labor camps. It may be concluded that both the workers and the Council suffered from the failure of the petition effort, although it is the author's belief that the workers gained a more realistic view of the lack of effectiveness and concern of Commonwealth government agencies on their behalf.

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[23] Conversation with Marcel Ringawa, NEFWC Regional Coordinator for Massachusetts, who assisted the workers in circulating the petition and in carrying out the subsequent elections among the workers.

[24] This perception of the Governor is probably a carryover of the image of Luis Muñoz Marin, chief architect and 3-term governor of the Commonwealth, who was widely regarded as a paternal "man of the people." Beyond this, there is the influence of the tradition of "personalism" in Latin American politics, which has long helped concentrate power and public attention on the chief executive in government.

Aside from expressing their concerns through petitions, farmworkers in the Council's Regional Advisories have elected to the agency's Board of Directors farmworkers who have demonstrated ability and desire to speak out on issues affecting the migrants. The Board of Directors during much of 1972 and 1973 was composed of a majority of farmworkers, elected by the Regional Advisories in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The election process required nominees to address themselves to the Advisory on issues that were of interest to the workers, and the minutes of the meetings of the Board during that period contain numerous directives initiated by outspoken migrants who sought to change the conditions of life and work on the camps. In addition, individual workers have expressed their personal views of the concerns of migrants through the Letters to the Editor section of _El Espuelazo_, a regular feature of the Council newspaper reserved for public commentary by the workers.

The first vocal migrant representative on the Board of Directors of the agency was Luis Medina, a young farmworker who participated in Board functions during 1971 and part of 1972. Mr. Medina was a member of the Council's first Board, and advocated for the initial funding of the program at public hearings in Boston in the Fall of 1971 against the commentaries of representatives of the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association and Massachusetts Farm Bureau. In the

Spring of 1972 nine farmworkers were elected to the Board. Among them was Mr. Domingo Walker, who exhorted farmworkers attending a Board meeting on June 12 as observers not to fear grower reprisals, reported by other farmworkers Directors, against migrants who associated themselves with the Council. Mr. Erasmo Estremera, another new migrant Director, presented the Board with a petition signed by 142 workers at his labor camp, requesting the Council to seek coverage of farmworkers by unemployment compensation legislation. Mr. Walker and Mr. Estremera were active on the Board during 1972 and 1973, each occupying at different times the positions of Board Chairman and Vice-Chairman.[25] Through the leadership exercised by Mr. Walker and Mr. Estremera, farmworkers on the Board gained confidence in their contribution to that body's deliberations, as exhibited by their increasing participation in Board business through the summer, fall, and winter of 1972. In July, the migrants participated in the Board's decision discussed in Chapter III of this study, to decline an HEW grant award for medical services to migrants which barred the provision of those services in Connecticut. In November of that year, Mr. Estremera hosted a meeting of the Board at the Town Hall in Arecibo, Puerto Rico. At this two-day gathering, farmworker concerns were communicated to the public and to representatives of the Commonwealth's Department of Labor, and broadcast over the town's radio station throughout the northwestern part of the island.

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[25] See minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, 1972 and 1973.

During the 1973 agricultural season the Board, composed of a two-thirds majority of migrants, took issue with the denial by the Growers' Association of access to farm labor camps in Connecticut by Council health project members seeking to administer a tuberculosis detection project in cooperation with the Hartford Lung Association.[26] On July 15, the Migrant Directors proposed that a petition be circulated among all the workers in Connecticut camps expressing their support of the Council's screening project. The petition was initiated by the Council staff, although it was soon superseded by a major legal suit filed by the Asociacion de Trabajadores Agrícolas, a group seeking to unionize the workers, demanding access to the farm labor camps.[27] The Federal District Court in New Haven later granted free access to Camp Windsor, and the Growers' Association took the initiative to provide the TB testing to migrants in Connecticut through its own facilities and those of the Lung Association, thereby achieving indirectly the intention of the Council's Board.

The expression of farmworker concerns by migrants through the Council was not limited to the Board of Directors. Individual workers have manifested their concerns through contributions to El

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[26] El Espuelazo, Vol. II (1973), No. 16.

[27] Hartford Courant, August 8, 1973

Espuelazo, printed in the newspaper's "Literary Section" or "Letters to the Editor." Some of these expressions reflect individual aspirations, others a preoccupation with the condition of the farmworker community. Most are written in a language and a form familiar to the migrants and to many Puerto Ricans. The following selection reflects the frustration of many workers:

El Verso del Migrante

Yo soy un jibarito
Que en busca de trabajo
Al Departamento fuí
Y para la finca de Mass.
Con un contrato salí
Como color de arcoiris
Me lo pintaron
Y con mucha labia
Me engañaron
Y a fuerza de tapa de pan
Aquí estamos trabajando
Como esclavos
Con mucho trabajo
Y pocos chavos.

Diego Colón (El Espuelazo,
Vol. I [1972], No. 2)

The following letter to the editor of El Espuelazo expresses a workers' perception of change in the migrant labor system:

> El Migrante Agrícola: Un Juego de Ajedrez
>
> Desde tiempos irrecordables se ha venido jugando con la dignidad de nuestros trabajadores agrícolas en los Estados Unidos y en Puerto Rico. Por un lado los que juegan con el tablero de ajedrez (El Departamento del Trabajo de Puerto Rico y las grandes compañias agrícolas de Estados Unidos) han sabido mover las piezas en el tablero de juego.
>
> Pero de un tiempo acá, parece que las figurillas o piezas que representan a los trabajadores migrantes

en el tablero, estan tomando vida y movimiento propio, y ya las manos de los contrincantes estan sintiendo sus latidos; especialmente las grandes companias agricolas en lost Estados Unidos.

Estas figurillas que antes estaban inanimadas o sin vida, ahora han cobrado vida. Ya han dejado de ser objetos y han empezado a ser "sujetos", personas. Ya existe cierta comunicación entre ellos. Ya el "caballo" le dice al Rey: "Oye, que tu crees de las comidas y del hospital?" En otras palabras, ya se están poniendo en tela de juicio los movimientos que le dan ambos contrincantes a las figurillas en el tablero de ajedrez.

Llegará el día en que las figurillas con vida sean los contricantes y dejen de ser objetos de manipulación. Llegara tambien el dia que ellos digan: "¡jaque-mate, ganamos!"

Sigfredo Vega, El Espuelazo,
Vol. 1 (1972), No. 12

Numerous letters have been written to the Council newsletter expressing appreciation and support of the agency's services and advocacy efforts. This poem expresses one worker's thoughts:

POEMA DE UN EMIGRANTE

Estoy aquí en Massachusetts
trabajando en el tabaco.
Ganándome unos pesitos
pa' mantener mis chamacos.

Ahora a los emigrantes
nos tratan con mas respeto.
El Consejo nos ayuda
y defiende nuestros derechos.

Nos respaldan en la finca
también en el campamento.
Pues tenemos al gallito
luchando en todo momento.

Tenemos tres campeones
que defienden al emigrante.
El Consejo, El Espuelazo,
y ese gallito campeante.

Y con esta me despido
y al poner punto final
reciba un abrazo leal
del que nunca los olvida.

Anonymous

It may be concluded that farmworkers undertook a significant effort to improve their living and working conditions during 1972 and 1973 with the aid of the Council. The three examples of this effort discussed here had not, heretofore, taken place to the author's knowledge. Although the Camp Windsor work stoppage did not bring about permanent improvement in conditions on the camp, it did have several results: the worker who had been fired and arrested was released and re-employed; the workers did organize themselves to promote their own interests, however briefly; and the Windsor town policemen who moonlighted as security guards on the camp were eventually replaced by a Puerto Rican guard, as had been requested by the workers in their meeting with the camp management during the work stoppage. Moreover, the author subsequently perceived greater caution on the part of the camp management in their treatment of the workers

With regard to the workers' petition to the Governor, two significant conclusions may be made. One is that the workers proved themselves capable of undertaking a large-scale, organized effort to promote their own interests. Another is that, in the author's perception, many key workers who had led the petition effort grew to be less reliant on the beneficence of the Island government as a result of the failure to include migrants in the contract negotiation process.

It may finally be concluded that the Board of Directors of the

Council and the agency's newspaper, El Espuelazo, provided a significant vehicle for workers to influence the conditions of their life and work and share their common concerns.

D. Interaction Involving Government Agencies of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Farmworker Community, and the NEFWC

In Chapter III of this study it was stated that the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico had not made good use of the opportunity it was offered in the Fall of 1973 for effectively including farmworkers in the process of the negotiation and enforcement of the farm labor contract, which is presently developed by the Department and representatives of the farm labor employers with no direct farmworker participation. The reasons given for the failure to bring migrants into this process were ineffectiveness on the part of the Department of Labor bureaucracy and the fear of some important officials in government of the political sensitivity of the migrant issue, which has received the attention of the Puerto Rican Senate, the press on the mainland and the island, and of the Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas, which has challenged the legality of the government's involvement in the traffic of migrant farm labor. It was suggested in Chapter II that the Department of Labor's unwillingness to significantly alter the status quo was rooted in the interest of the government in migration as a source of employment and as a means of checking the island's population growth rate.

This section will evaluate the relationship among the Council, the migrants, and the Commonwealth government during 1972 and 1973, and relate it to the author's perception of the Commonwealth's migrant policy as presented in Chapters II and III.

As discussed in Chapter III under the description of Phase 1 of the Council's development, the relationship between the Council and the Commonwealth government experienced an inauspicious beginning in 1971 and 1972, due in part to the Council's involvement in a protest against the Commonwealth government and to probable negative reports communicated to the current Secretary of Labor by the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association.[28] During 1972, the Council's legal services delegate agency filed various complaints to the Migration Division office in Hartford and to the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration, citing violations of the farm labor contract and of federal regulations pertaining to the living and working conditions of workers. As may be gathered from Appendices 10 and 10-a, these complaints were apparently interpreted by the Department of Labor as attacks on its guardianship of the workers. After the election of a new administration in Puerto Rico, a more positive relationship developed between the Council and the island's Department of Labor. Council members met with officials of the new government in a cordial atmosphere, and established the interagency committee described in Chapter III under Phase 5, for the purpose of coordinating services to migrants between Puerto Rico and New

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[28] See Appendices 10 and 10-a, letters from Julia Rivera de Vicentí, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, to government officials at the state and Federal levels, criticizing the NEFWC.

England. During the period of conflict in 1973 and 1974 with officials of the state of Connecticut, the Commonwealth's Secretary of Labor and the Governor wrote endorsements of the Council's refunding proposal to the U.S. Secretary of Labor which were of direct benefit to the continuance of Council services to the migrants.[29]

Although the spirit of cooperation emerged between the Council and the Department of Labor, concrete benefits accrued to the migrants did not materialize. The interagency committee failed in its work, except for the establishment of a credit union for migrants as a joint effort between the Council and the Commonwealth's Cooperative Development Administration. The interagency committee dissolved as inquiries or initiatives by the Council went unanswered, or replies arrived claiming an inability on the part of the respondents to take action because of bureaucratic limitations. Even a payroll discount for the credit union, proposed by the Cooperative Development Administration as an important step in the delivery of this service, was not discussed by the Department of Labor in its negotiation of the 1974 contract with the farm labor employers.[30] What did take place out of the Council initiatives, worker stoppages, and efforts of other groups concerned with the welfare of the migrants, was a greater readiness on the part of the Department of Labor to respond to crises on the labor camps. After the petition to the Governor by migrants in Massachusetts and Connecticut in July 1, 1973, the Secretary of Labor expressed public concern for the problems of the migrants and made a tour of stateside farms (El Diario-La Prensa, New York, August 7, 1973). These public expressions of concern were not necessarily followed by effective action in the interest of the farmworkers, however. It has already been discussed in Chapter III how the Department of Labor elections of migrants in the Connecticut Valley in September adversely affected the development of leadership and cohesion among the farmworkers, and how the "advisory" role of the workers to the Secretary of Labor during the period of negotiation for the 1974 contract was apparently both poorly handled and ineffective in attaining real migrant participation in the contract process.[31] It has also been indicated that there was apparently no effort made during 1974 to further bring workers into the contract negotiation process, and that no workers "advised" the Secretary as a group previous to the negotiation of the 1975 contract.

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[29] Telegram from Luis Silva Recio, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, to Director of Office of Economic Opportunity, March, 1973, and letter from Peter Brennan, U.S. Secretary of Labor, to Rafael Hernandez Colón, Governor of Puerto Rico, March 20, 1974. Personal files of the author.

[30] Conversation with Anthony Amenta, Executive Director of the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association, Spring, 1974.

The controversy surrounding Marcos Rigau, briefly the Director of the Migration Division during 1973, may serve to exemplify both the current difficulties of the Commonwealth government in its handling of the migrant issue and the long-standing philosophy of that government toward migration. Mr. Rigau, a young and somewhat abrasive law professor who had campaigned actively for Governor Hernandez in the 1972 election, was appointed to head the Migration Division in New York early in 1973. It was Rigau's understanding, expressed publicly later, that he would be only nominally accountable to the Secretary of Labor, and would in reality be a close advisor to the Governor with regard to the issue of Puerto Ricans on the mainland, which occupied an unprecedented position of importance among the concerns of the new administration. Mr. Rigau was an activist, and soon became a prominent participant in the bid for the mayoralty of New York by Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican Congressman. In addition, he began to visit farm labor camps where Puerto Rican migrants worked under the Department of Labor's contract and farms where non-contract workers were employed. Rigau was appalled by the living and working conditions of the migrants, both contract and non-contract. He was also apparently impressed by the efforts of the A.T.A., the only organization then striving to unionize the workers, and by the question being posed by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, a privately-financed group of young attorneys, regarding the legitimacy of the Commonwealth government's involvement in the farm labor contract process. It is the author's understanding that Rigau sought to rigidly enforce the contract and to bring legal action by the Department of Labor against remiss migrant labor employers, and that he was kept from doing so by the Secretary.[32] Moreover, Rigau grew to be seen within the government as a problematic official who sympathized with "irresponsible" groups such as A.T.A. and the Legal Defense Fund, and who became too involved in Puerto Rican politics in New York. It is reported that late in June a private confrontation took place involving Rigau, the Governor, and the Secretary of Labor in which Rigau was rebuffed.[33] On July 3, Rigau addressed a press conference in San Juan, accusing the Department of Labor of "permitting concentration camps for Puerto Rican migrant workers to labor under inhuman conditions, in order to reduce the high unemployment on the island." He was immediately fired by the Secretary, who then put forth the government's position. In Puerto Rico, he explained, there is an "unemployed over-population," which the government seeks to place in jobs whenever possible and under the most favorable conditions to the workers. Favorable farm labor contracts were signed annually for 20-25 thousand workers. The problems lay with the non-contract workers, who were subject to unconscionable abuses and who were urged to leave Puerto Rico only under the government's contract. The Secretary went on to point out that 56,000 persons were born in Puerto Rico each year, and that "eventually they join a mass in need of employment," and comprise "the migrants, the so-called 'economic exiles of Puerto Rico.'"[35]

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[31] Few changes in the 1974 contract came out of this process, other than a 15¢ increase in the hourly wage of the contract workers.

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[32] This is gathered from a series of articles published in New York's El Diario-La Prensa in the spring and summer of 1973, and from a number of conversations between the authors and Department of Labor officials.

[33] "Grande Crisis en la Oficina de Migración de Puerto Rico," ABC de España, July 1973.

[34] "Gobierno PR Insiste en Que Todo Migrante Boricua venga a E.U. protegido por Contrato," El Diario-La Prensa, August 7, 1973.

Rigau had pointed out that not once in the twenty-three year history of the farm labor contract had the Department of Labor taken legal steps against a farm labor employer, even though deplorable conditions had been reported as late as 1971 by the Senate of Puerto Rico. It is the author's belief that, in refusing to take at least some of the legal actions sought by Rigau, the Department helped perpetuate many of these conditions. Moreover, in his answer to the public accusations by Rigau, the Secretary reiterated the government's long-standing policy, discussed in earlier chapters of this study, of promoting migration as a means of combating unemployment and population growth among the less fortunate segments of Puerto Rican society.

The Secretary and Mr. Rigau's successor as Director of the Migration Division, Manuel Bustelo, defined the role of the Department of Labor as a mandate of Public Law 87, which has been discussed in Chapters I and II and which gave the Secretary the power to negotiate farm labor contracts. Moreover, Bustelo stated that the Department "is not a union." He added, "we enter into negotiations, but not in the role of a union."[36] Both these arguments, in the author's opinion, beg the questions of farmworker participation in the contract process and the responsibility of the Department to be accountable to the workers for the contracts it negotiates on their behalf. Public Law 87, to the author's knowledge, does not preclude the Department from developing farmworker participation in the contract process, with the eventual goal of the workers negotiating the contract within the context of a union supported, and not subverted, by Public Law 87.

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[35] ABC de España, Ibid.

[36] "RHC Pide Obreros Migrantes P.R. Participen Negociación Contratos." New York: El Diario-La Prensa, September 23, 1973.

It seems that the current arrangement leaves but two options to those farmworkers who are not pleased with the procedures and provisions attendant to the contract process: to migrate without a contract, which more than half of the estimated 50,000 annual migrants do; or travel under the contract and feel, as the author perceives many workers do, both alienated from and totally subject to the principal actors in the contract process, the Department of Labor and the farm labor employers.

The New England Farm Workers' Council and other groups have sought, each in its own way, to communicate to the Department of Labor the need for greater participation by migrants in the farm labor contract process. The Council, as has been stated above, has generally met with apathy and bureaucratic disorganization in its own effort to influence Commonwealth policy. Since the work stoppages and petitions of the workers during 1972 and 1973, together with the internal crisis of the Department of Labor, have gained the attention of the highest policy-making circles in Puerto Rico with no substantial effect, it can safely be concluded that the Commonwealth government continues to find value in promoting migration and in exercising exclusive power to determine on behalf of Puerto Rican migrants the conditions of their life and work on the mainland farms.

In conclusion, it may be said that this chapter has sought to discuss four activities, taken from the experiences of the NEFWC, which in the author's opinion have been of significant influence on selected elements of the system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley. The author believes that these experiences reflect the Council's earnest effort to meet its three basic objectives of providing services to farmworkers, advocating for their expressed interests, and promoting self-determination among the farmworker community. It may be said that the overall success of this effort has been limited, as the overall condition of the migrant community has not changed substantially since the inception of the Council. This condition has, nevertheless, been influenced by the interactions, exemplified in this chapter, among the Council and other elements of the system selected for discussion in this study.

The in-service training sessions of the members of the NEFWC staff and Board of Directors, discussed in Section A of this chapter, achieved their general objectives. The agency's pre-vocational education program during 1972 and 1973 had very limited influence on the farmworker community, particularly when viewed in the general context of the need of the migrants to make a successful occupational transition from the shrinking agricultural industry described in Chapter I of this study to the competitive industrial job market. It may be said, however, that during 1972 and 1973 curricula, methods and materials heretofore not utilized in the provision of education services to Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers in the Connecticut Valley were implemented, evaluated, and revised in order to improve their effectiveness. The presentations and discussions which were part of the "survival" education program experienced significant success.

The Council's involvement in farmworker efforts to influence the conditions of their life and work met with substantial success, in the author's opinion. Most of the outspoken demonstrations of common concerns by workers described in this study simply did not take place in the Connecticut Valley before the inception of the Council's work, although other factors probably had much to contribute to these expressions, such as the activities of other groups concerned with farmworkers problems, public attention generated by the press, and the aspirations of the younger and more "urbanized" migrants, whose demographic characteristics are discussed in Chapter II of this study. Through the concert of these influences, a subtle but perceptible change has taken place in the farm labor camps, which may be characterized by the term "maleta-and-go." This phrase refers to a practice of some farm labor employers, who commonly fired migrants by simply telling them to get their suitcase ("maleta") and go. The phrase now often heard on the labor camps by workers commenting on the change in this practice is "se acabó maleta-and-go," "no more suitcase-and-go."

With regard to the legal relationship between the migrants and the government of Puerto Rico, little change has taken place to date, despite Council and worker efforts described in Section D of this chapter and in Chapter III. This situation may soon change, however, as the Commonwealth government and the workers are presently involved in legal actions in Puerto Rico which may alter their relationship. The public attention generated in Puerto Rico and the mainland by these legal challenges, and the activism of the workers and of organizations working on their behalf, all seem to be pointing toward a new role for the Commonwealth government in the migrant labor system.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has sought to describe the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council, Inc., and to document significant interactions among selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley. These elements are the migrant farmworker community, the farm labor employers, and agencies of the Federal government and of the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico. In addition, the study analyzed several of these elements in order to provide a background to the development of the Council.

The study was divided into an Introduction and five chapters. Chapters I through IV sought to discuss selected elements of the system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley and the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council. This chapter will serve to briefly summarize findings of preceding chapters, draw conclusions, and offer the author's recommendations.

Summary

Chapter I presented a description of the following principal elements of the farm labor system: the shade tobacco agricultural industry, the Federal government, and the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico.

It was found that the shade tobacco industry in the Connecticut Valley is a traditional agricultural enterprise which requires a high utilization of manual labor, and that Puerto Rican migrants have worked in the industry for over twenty years. The industry is presently controlled by large corporations, and the relationship between labor and management is generally strained. A variety of factors is contributing to the gradual decline of the industry, and in the long range prospect, employment for Puerto Ricans will probably disappear.

It was also found that government plays an important role in this system. The transfer of workers from Puerto Rico to New England is controlled by the Federal government under the Wagner-Peyser Act, and living and working conditions of the migrants are influenced by Federal law and by regulations promulgated by the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico. Some major Federal laws, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Occupational Safety and Health Act, extend partial or full coverage to farmworkers, while others, such as the Taft-Hartley Act, specifically exclude farmworkers from coverage. In addition, a number of Federal statutes provide for the delivery of social services to farmworkers. Most of the federal legislation discussed consists of recent adaptations of long-standing labor laws aimed at industrial workers.

Beyond the provisions of Federal law, living and working conditions are influenced by laws promulgated by the governments [illegible] ssachusetts, Connecticut, and Puerto Rico. The Department of Health of Massachusetts implemented an important ruling guaranteeing migrants the right to receive visitors at the arm labor camps without the required consent of the property owner. Moreover, the state government implemented several service projects for migrants during the 1960's such as the Migrant Education Project. However, it was found that far fewer such provisions existed in Connecticut, although the migrant population there is the greatest in New England.

An important finding pertains to the function of the government of Puerto Rico in the system under discussion. The Department of Labor of Puerto Rico plays a key role in establishing the living and working conditions of migrants, through the farm labor contract it negotiates annually on behalf of the workers with the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association. The contract, which governs every aspect of the workers' employment, is negotiated without the workers' effective participation or ratification.

Chapter II discussed the background to the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers, their demographic traits, and the characteristics of their life and work. The migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers was found to be part of a mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland. This migration was linked to the dislocation of the Puerto Rican economy at the turn of the century and during the 1930's. It developed gradually during the first half of the century, and dramatically after World War II. At that time, the Puerto Rican government espoused migration as a partial solution to the island's problems of high unemployment and population density, as is evidenced by the creation of the Migration Division of the Department of Labor and by other measures taken to promote resettlement on the mainland by Island residents. In studying the demographic characteristics of the migrant farmworkers, it was found that they generally stood well within the bottom third of Puerto Rican income groups, and they they represent both rural and urban populations on the island.

Chapter III addressed itself to the purpose, functions, and development of the New England Farm Workers' Council. It was found that during the course of its development the Council adopted three basic objectives: the provision of services to farmworkers, advocacy of their expressed interests, and the development of self-determination among the farmworker community. The development of the agency from 1971 through 1973 was divided into six distinguishable phases for purposes of analysis. Key characteristics of the agency during this period were the development of organizational sophistication; the implementation of a variety of services heretofore not offered to migrants throughout the Connecticut Valley; the difficulties encountered in the performance of Council functions because of opposition generated through various means by the farm labor employers; and the direct interactions among the Council, the farmworker community, and agencies of the government of Puerto Rico.

Chapter IV focused on four activities involving the Council which the author determined to be of significance in their influence on selected elements of the system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley. These activities were the following: in-service training of the members of the staff and Board of Directors of the Council; education services offered to the farmworker community; farmworker efforts to influence the conditions of their employment; and interactions involving agencies of the government of Puerto Rico, the farmworker community, and the N.E. F.W.C. It was found that the in-service training of the staff and Board of Directors sought to develop Council members into an effective working group and to develop skills related to the various functions of the agency. Questionnaires administered to the staff before and after the session, discussions with trainers, and interviews with Board members revealed that the training sessions discussed achieved their main objectives.

Education services to the farmworker community centered on prevocational education programs and on "survival" skills. The services were performed primarily by means of classes, modular presentations, and group discussions. It was found that the class format served best for the pre-vocational eduacation subjects, and the modular presentation and group discussions for the "survival" education program. The education programs during 1972 and 1973 generally lacked experience, adequate materials, and a sufficient number of trained staff members. Although two evaluations by Federal contractors reported the Council to be meeting its grant objectives, several internal evaluations pointed to the need for improvement, particularly in the pre-vocational program and in two pilot vocational skills training projects undertaken.

Farmworker efforts to influence the conditions of their employment during 1972 and 1973 took a variety of forms. It was found that some were in the nature of protests, such as work stoppages; others were in the form of organized efforts to bring about the cooperation of other elements in the system, such as petitions. Still others were expressions of individual migrants, aimed at reaching other workers through the Council's Board of Directors, Regional Advisories, and the agency newspaper, El Espuelazo. The outspoken demonstrations of common concerns discussed involved the Council in one way or another, and it was found that in general these types of actions had not taken place throughout the Connecticut Valley before the inception of the agency. It was also found that most of the actions achieved concrete results, ranging from the sharing of common problems and concerns to the accession to farmworker requests by employers and government agencies.

The examination of selected interactions among the farmworker community, government agencies of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Council was undertaken in light of the author's perception of the government's role in the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, discussed in earlier chapters of this study. It was found that although a cordial relationship developed between the Council and the administration of Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon, efforts by the Council to coordinate services to migrants generally could not overcome bureaucratic barriers in the Island government. A notable exception to this experience was the credit union established as a joint effort of the Council and the Commonwealth's Cooperative Development Administration. It was also found that the massive work stoppage at Camp Windsor and the petition to the Governor by the migrants contributed to a greater readiness on the part of the Island's Department of Labor to respond to problems on the labor camps. An "advisory" role in the labor contract negotiations was established by the Department of Labor for the migrants after the Governor called for farmworker participation in the contract in his response to the workers' petition. However, it was found that the Department of Labor's elections for this "advisory" body late in the 1973 season duplicated and perhaps undermined the elections previously conducted by the workers themselves in response to the Governor's letter. Moreover, there were indications that the logistics surrounding the participation of workers in the meetings of the advisory group were poorly handled by Department of Labor officials. It was moreover found that no workers were invited to contribute to the negotiations of the 1975 contract.

The controversy surrounding the directorship of the Migration Division during 1973, was pointed out as an example of the current difficulties of the Commonwealth government in its handling of the migrant issue and the government's long-standing view of migration as a tool of labor policy.

Conclusions

Presented here will be conclusions arrived at regarding the various findings of the study, as well as overall conclusions pertaining to the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley and the development of the New England Farm Workers' Council.

The system of Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the Connecticut Valley discussed in Chapter I is generally the preserve of the growers, who operate their business in the context of watered-down labor laws and a transient, unorganized labor force with limited skills. At present, the farm labor employers are reaping the benefits of a cheaper and more dependable labor force than any available locally. In the future, when real estate prices reach an optimum, growers will divest themselves of the land and of the migrants, and those Puerto Ricans who have built their livelihood on the annual trek to the Connecticut Valley will probably face chronic unemployment in Puerto Rico.

The current role of the Federal government in the system under discussion is valuable, though by no means exemplary. Federal law does establish minimum work site conditions under the Occupational

Safety and Health Act, and minimum wage and other standards under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Recently, temporary Federal provisions have called for the coverage of farmworkers under unemployment compensation laws. Also, Federal programs have made available to farmworkers a number of unprecedented social services. However, the Wagner-Peyser law, governing the transportation of workers from one area to another, has in effect served to maintain agricultural wages at a minimum in the Connecticut Valley and other areas by insuring a supply of cheap imported laborers, who themselves suffer from the problem of low income. Also, crucial pieces of Federal legislation such as the National Labor Relations Act altogether exclude farmworkers from coverage, thereby discouraging the effective organization of the workers into trade unions and associations and further promoting control of farming by employer interests.

State provisions in Massachusetts and Connecticut provide little additional protection to the migrant farmworker communities. Massachusetts provisions do uphold the workers' right to receive visitors unimpaired in the employers' labor camps, and the Commonwealth has sponsored valuable service programs. But Connecticut has been largely barren of effective legislation pertaining to farmworkers, and shows numerous signs of grower influence in government at both the state and local level.

The role of the government of Puerto Rico up to the present has been crucial. Legislation enacted on the Island forbidding the private recruitment of migrants, and the contract negotiated by the Secretary of Labor and the farm labor employers, do seem to have been enacted to combat abuses of Puerto Rican workers on mainland work sites. The contract itself is unique among labor pacts, and provides many guarantees not enjoyed by most migrants in the United States. However, farmworkers have been excluded from the negotiations and enforcement of the contract, and efforts to include farmworkers in the contract process have been answered by the claim on the part of the Secretary of Labor that Public Law 87 authorizes him only to enter into contract negotiations. This law, in effect, has been utilized in principle to exclude farmworkers from having a deciding voice in the conditions of their life and work on the mainland farms. This situation leaves as the principal decision makers in the migrant farm labor system the growers and the Commonwealth government, each of which has a vested interest in migration, one as a source of cheap labor and the other as a means of partially checking unemployment and population density on the Island.

It may be concluded in general that, of the selected elements of the Puerto Rican migrant farm labor system in the Connecticut Valley discussed here, the workers are the weakest element, the most influenced by the others, and the least benefitted by the overall system.

Regarding the background to the migration of Puerto Rican farmworkers presented in Chapter II, it may be said that the policies of the government of Puerto Rico, and on a more fundamental level, the policies of the United States government, have contributed directly to the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland for purposes of employment in agriculture and industry. The military and political takeover of Puerto Rico by the U.S. in 1898, and the rearranging of the island's economy thereafter to suit North American sugar interests, set in motion an almost total restructuring of the Puerto Rican labor force and prompted the migration of workers from the countryside and the interior to the towns and the coastline, and subsequently to the cities and the mainland. The pump of migration was primed in the early 1900's by mainland employers recruiting island workers on their own, and was taken over by the Island government and institutionalized after World War II. There is substantial evidence that the Migration Division of the Department of Labor was created for the specific purpose of promoting and assisting the departure to the mainland of thousands of Puerto Ricans who were unemployed and whom the government determined to be unemployable in the Puerto Rican economy of the time. At present Puerto Rican officials strive to disclaim this role of the government, stating that the Commonwealth "neither discourages nor encourages migration." The reason for this current posture may well be that the government wishes to disassociate itself from the manifold problems the migrants have encountered on the mainland. It is possible that the Island government, in institutionalizing migration, did not foresee the problems and failures it would experience in protecting vast numbers of migrants through the quasi-consular offices of the Migration Division. However, migration has taken the proportion of a major Puerto Rican social phenomenon, and the Island government would hardly be justified in disclaiming its role in this phenomenon.

The demographic characteristics of the migrants studied indicate that they originate from the lowest income groups in Puerto Rico, and from rural areas, towns, and city slums. It seems that these workers are displaced members of the Island economy, described by the Secretary of Labor as "economic exiles." It also seems that these workers, now employed as migrant laborers, will be faced with eventual displacement from the Connecticut Valley economy as the tobacco industry winds down, and will in the end join the large numbers of chronically unemployed Puerto Ricans on the island. With regard to the stateside conditions of life and work of the migrants, they may be described as ranging from abominable to adequate for the maintenance of health and safety, but certainly not conducive to physical or mental fitness. As a general comment, it may be said that migration to the Connecticut Valley generally locks the farmworkers, already in an economically marginal position in Puerto Rico, into a low-subsistence cycle of seasonal employment.

Regarding the purpose, functions, and development of the New England Workers' Council discussed in Chapter III, several general conclusions may be reached. One is that the agency's development has shown that it is possible for a community-oriented and largely community-staffed organization to act effectively on behalf of a Puerto Rico migrant farmworker population, and to do so with programmatic and administrative accountability to its funding sources. The effectiveness of community-based organizations has often been an issue of debate. In the case of the Council, the participation of farmworkers and ex-farmworkers in the agency's functions has increased the acceptability of the agency among the farmworker community and therefore its effectiveness.

Secondly, the Council's development and continued activity in the face of considerable political pressure has shown that it is possible for a community advocacy group to exert influence within a system dominated by powerful corporate and governmental interests. The survival of the Council is due in no small way to provisions of the Office of Economic Opportunity guaranteeing its migrant grantees a considerable amount of insulation from political pressures. But it has been the initiative and effectiveness of the Council which has helped bring farmworker concerns to the attention of the public and of various elements of the farm labor system. The Council, in effect, has helped increase the leverage of the farmworker community within the system.

Lastly, the service delivery systems developed by the Council have shown that it is possible to effectively offer a variety of social services to a transient population such as that of the Puerto

Rican migrant farmworkers. The shortcomings of some of the agency's programs have themselves shown the way for the development of more effective service mechanisms. A key factor in the development of such services at the community level has been the broad programmatic and financial support of Federal agencies, particularly the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Chapter IV examined four activities involving the Council which the author has determined to be of influence on selected elements of the system under consideration. With regard to the in-service training of Council members, it may be concluded that such training is both effective and necessary, particularly in the case of the Council, which operates a variety of projects over an extended geographical area and whose staff originates from a variety of cultural, educational, and professional backgrounds. The Council has had among its members part-time and full-time employees, farmworkers and non-farmworkers, representatives of various ethnic groups, Fulbright Scholars and grade-school dropouts, advocates of a variety of political and social causes, persons with long experience in community service organizations, and people with no such experience. Moreover, shifting requirements of the funding sources and the multiple concerns of the farmworker community require frequent and effective in-service training of agency members.

With regard to pre-vocational education services offered to the community during 1972 and 1973, it may be said that the program had very limited influence, when viewed in the general context of the need of the migrants to make an occupational transition from the decreasing farm employment in the Connecticut Valley to more permanent and remunerative work. However, the pre-vocational education program did succeed in implementing and evaluating materials and methods not heretofore utilized in education services to migrant farmworkers throughout the Connecticut Valley. In addition, the "survival" education program met with significant attention and participation on the part of the workers. This could well be owing to the fact that the presentation and discussion formats utilized a variety of media, including theatre and videorecording, and elicited opinions from workers regarding issues of immediate and daily concern to them, such as living conditions on the camps, wages, and the farm labor contract. There was something of an inherent conflict between the expectations of the funding sources for true vocational education programs which directly led individual workers from migrant farm employment to higher-paying industrial jobs and the reality of the transient farmworker, whose immediate interest lay in understanding and dealing with the realities of his economic life and his working and living conditions on the labor camps. The agency has sought to meet both the expectations of the funding sources and of the migrants. This is an effort which has yet to meet with full fruition, but which can result in the successful development among farmworkers of both vocational skills and of the knowledge and confidence necessary to increase the migrants' influence within the farm labor system and beyond it.

The efforts of farmworkers to influence the conditions of their employment during 1972 and 1973 discussed in this study received attention throughout the migrant community by means of news media, the Council newspaper, and the meetings of the agency's Board of Directors and Regional Advisories. These efforts had generally not taken place throughout the Connecticut Valley before the inception of the Council, and it may be said that in various cases the Council's support assisted the workers in acting on their own behalf. The incidents of migrant activism discussed did suffer from lack of continuity, despite Council efforts to project them into more permanent vehicles for farmworker self-expression. However, they did show that with some organization and support the workers are capable of protecting and promoting their own interests, contrary to the belief of some that the transience of the workers prevents them from organizing effectively.

The examination of the interactions among the Council, the farmworkers, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico yields the conclusion that in 1973 and 1974 the Island government was not yet ready to include farmworkers in the negotiations and enforcement of the farm labor contract. It may also be concluded that whatever desire the government had for bringing workers into the labor contract process fell victim at least in part to bureaucratic ineffectiveness within the Department of Labor. Workers did learn from these interactions, however, that they had the ability to organize themselves effectively and gain immediate advantages by doing so. The disappointment experienced by many workers after their failure to truly participate in the contract process during the winter of 1973 could well impress them with the need to organize further among themselves and depend less on the beneficence and effectiveness of the Island government.

In general, it may be said that during 1971 through 1973 the New England Farm Workers' Council undertook the provision of services to Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers theretofore not offered to workers throughout the Connecticut Valley. The agency also became involved in advocacy efforts and in the promotion of self-determination among the farmworker community on an unprecedented scale. Although the conditions of migrant farm labor in the Valley have not changed fundamentally since the inception of the Council, the agency has helped heighten awareness of the migrants' concerns among other elements of the farm labor system. It has also promoted greater self-confidence among workers seeking to express and fulfill the needs of the migrant community.

The status quo in the farm labor system is not likely to go on indefinitely. In the author's opinion, it will eventually yield to a combination of influences favorable to the farmworkers, including the pressure of public opinion on the corporate employers and the government of Puerto Rico, the service and advocacy efforts of the

Council and other organizations, the unionization drive of the Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas, and the legal actions currently aimed at changing the role of the Commonwealth's Department of Labor in the farm labor contract process. Most importantly, the status quo will probably yield in great part to the aspirations of the more sophisticated and urbanized migrants traveling to the mainland farms in the 1970's.

Recommendations

Several recommendations can be made emerging from this study. In the author's opinion, the single most immediate pertains to the need for including the farmworkers in the decision-making process of the farm labor contract. It is recommended that the government of Puerto Rico take immediate steps to include farmworkers in the process of negotiating and enforcing the farm labor contract, in an equitable manner to be determined jointly by the workers and the appropriate officials of the Island government. The exclusive responsibility for negotiating the contract given to the Secretary of Labor under Public Law 87 is an obstacle to farmworker participation that should be surmounted. Through these measures, valuable accomplishments of the present contract process may be retained, and its most negative characteristic, the exclusion of workers, may be eliminated. These steps, moreover, should lead to a process by which the migrants can develop an effective labor organization supported by the Island government.

Other recommendations, pertaining to findings and conclusions of the study, may also be in order. Regarding the role of government in the system discussed, there is a pressing need for the inclusion of farmworkers under the National Labor Relations Act and the various state counterparts to that law. In addition, the State of Connecticut is in need of extending its migrants the right to receive visitors on the labor camps without interference from the labor employers. The camps are, after all, the workers' home during their stay in the State.

The government of Puerto Rico is urged to clearly recognize its role in the phenomenon of migration now affecting over a million Puerto Ricans. A clear delineation of the government's role in migration from a historical and contemporary perspective can only help the development of a sound Commonwealth policy for dealing with the manifold implications of this phenomenon. The Island government is also urged to undertake the planning of a long-range labor policy designed to deal with the almost certain eventuality of the disappearance of farm jobs for Puerto Ricans in the Connecticut Valley and other mainland work sites.

Regarding the development of the Council, there exists the need for the provision of services to farmworkers in Puerto Rico as well as in New England, and the agency should redouble its efforts to coordinate its services with agencies on the Island and seek the development of effective new services to migrants and their families. In addition, the agency must recognize that certain activities, such as the actual unionization of farmworkers, are beyond the scope of its current resources, and should seek to develop a positive, complementary relationship with both the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico and the group seeking unionization of the workers, the Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas. On another level, the agency must strive with other migrant programs throughout the country to maintain services to farmworkers as a high priority of Federal agencies, and to preserve the Federal protection the programs have required to effectively carry on their work in grower-dominated areas such as the Connecticut Valley.

Several recommendations for further research may also be in order. In the author's opinion, there is the need for further investigation into the development of community-developed organizations providing multiple services to mobile populations such as the Puerto Rican migrant farmworkers. Only after wider research can sound generalizations be made regarding the impact of organizations such as the Council on the communities they serve. Appropriate curricula, materials, and staff training for education services to mobile communities, especially among the Puerto Rican population on the mainland is another valuable area of investigation. In the labor relations area, a comparative study of the development of labor organizations among highly mobile workers, such as the seafarers, would certainly be of value to those seeking to organize migrant farmworkers. Also, further investigation into the labor policies of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico could well serve in the development of improved Commonwealth policies toward the unemployed and underemployed on the island, including the migrant farmworkers.

MIGRACION PUERTORRIQUEÑA A ESTADOS UNIDOS

La migración de puertorriqueños hacia los Estados Unidos, ha ido aumentando desde el año 1964. Durante el año 1967 alcanzó un total de 26,553. Los factores que influyen en el incremento de la migración, tales como la abundancia de empleos y la consecuente gran demanda de trabajadores, indican que un gran número de puertorriqueños continuará viniendo a Estados Unidos Continentales.

La tabla que sigue muestra la migración puertorriqueña hacia Estados Unidos, desde el año 1963 al 1967. A pesar de que hubo un descenso de 2,200 en el número de migrantes en el 1967 comparados con el año anterior, se estima que los factores mencionados en el párrafo anterior contribuirán a que la migración aumente en los próximos años.

Migración Puertorriqueña a los Estados Unidos
Durante los Ultimos Cinco Años
(1963 - 1967)

1963	5,479
1964	1,370
1965	16,678
1966	28,753
1967	26,553

1969 — 21,840
1970 — 18,884

DISSERTATION
AUTHOR'S
EMPHASIS

Es obvio que la migración, aunque voluntaria es parte integrante del programa de desarrollo económico y social que está llevando a cabo el Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico. Lo es así porque la migración ayuda a mantener el índice poblacional a un nivel más o menos estable con los correspondientes efectos en el empleo y el desempleo, la educación, la vivienda, la salud y en todos los otros aspectos del desarrollo de los programas de gobierno en Puerto Rico.

El aumento en la migración se refleja en la clientela servida por la División especialmente en los solicitantes de empleo. El número de solicitantes iniciales o sea aquellos que solicitan servicios por primera vez, ha constituído el 39% del total de solicitantes que visitaron las oficinas en busca de empleo. Durante el 1966-67 un 32% o sea un total de 11,652 solicitantes nuevos fueron entrevistados. Durante el 1967-68 los solicitantes nuevos, que en su mayoría son recién llegados de Puerto Rico, constituyeron un total de 15,105. Esta cifra es de gran importancia, pues puede interpretarse que un 60% de las personas que vinieron de Puerto Rico que fueron 26,553 durante este año, se beneficiaron de los servicios del Programa de Empleo de la División.

Los presentes cálculos sobre la población puertorriqueña revelan que en Puerto Rico residen unos 2,700,000 personas. La División de Migración para junio del año 1968 estima que residían en los Estados Unidos 1,200.000 puertorriqueños; o sea, que de un total de cerca de 4 millones de puertorriqueños un 28%, casi una tercera parte de todos los puertorriqueños-- reside en los Estados Unidos.

A esta realidad y a su significado para Puerto Rico, aún no se le ha dado la consideración y el estudio que merece. Sin embargo el desarrollo del programa de la División exige necesariamente un continuo análisis de la realidad en cuanto a la población puertorriqueña de Estados Unidos para que dicho programa, dentro de las limitaciones de sus recursos, pueda desarrollarse en la forma más efectiva posible.

Una tercera parte de los puertorriqueños que residen en los Estados Unidos nació en dicho país y dos terceras partes nacieron en Puerto Rico. La población puertorriqueña reside en Estados Unidos se puede dividir, (y para los efectos de programación es necesario hacerlo) en tres grupos como sigue:

X Grupo I- Este grupo representa la primera generación de los puertorriqueños, o sea, los nacidos y criados en Puerto Rico que han migrado a los Estados Unidos ya adultos.

X Grupo II- Los miembros de este grupo, identificados como la Generación de Puente", también nacieron en Puerto Rico, pero migraron hacia los Estados Unidos y terminaron su educación en Estados Unidos. Por consiguiente conocen la realidad de Puerto Rico y mucho de la realidad de los puertorriqueños en los Estados Unidos.

Grupo III- Los miembros de este grupo representa en gran parte a los puertorriqueños nacidos en Estados Unidos, que aunque por muchas razones son puertorriqueños, desconocen lo que es ser puertorriqueño en Puerto Rico po no ber vivido acá; pero sí conocen lo que representa ser puertorriqueño en Estados Unidos.

No hay espacio en este informe para entrar en detalles sobre las diferencias de estas subdivisiones de la comunidad puertorriqueña de Estados Unidos. Basta con indicar aquí, que los valores y la forma de reaccionar a los problemas con que se enfrenta el puertorriqueño en Estados Unidos y que a su vez afectan su ajuste y su convivencia en las comunidades en donde residen en Estados Unidos, son diferentes entre estos tres grupos. Por lo tanto los sub-programas de la División tienen que tener muy en cuenta estas diferencias al desarrollar sus actividades, si estas han de surtir los efectos deseados.

Además es preciso tener muy presente que según cambian las realidades demográficas de estos grupos así ha de cambiar el enfoque que se le dé al programa básico de la División. En el 1960 el 85% de los puertorriqueños nacidos en Estados Unidos eran menor de 14 años. Durante los últimos 8 años estas estadísticas han obviamente cambiado. Este cambio por lo tanto ha de afectar y ha afectado el desarrollo de varios de los programas de la División.

De igual manera, la presente realidad en Estados Unidos, que ha sido clasificada como una profunda revolución social, afecta directa e indirectamente a la comunidad puertorriqueña y a los programas de la División. La posición del puertorriqueño especialmente ante la confrontación de "negro" y "blanco" es uno de los problemas más profundos conque se enfrenta el grupo puertorriqueño de los Estados Unidos. Este problema presenta dificultades especiales al grupo III- los de la segunda generación. La mayor parte de este grupo nunca ha vivido en Puerto Rico. Por lo tanto no ha tenido la experiencia de vivir en una sociedad donde no existe el "problema de color" en la forma que existe en los Estados Unidos. La realidad conocida por ellos es la realidad de valores humanos que existen en los arrabales urbanos en donde se ha criado y se está criando una gran mayoría de este grupo. Debido a ésto, muchos de estos jóvenes se identifican más con los valores del "negro" urbano de Estados Unidos y no entienden los valores de sus padres en cuanto al "problema de color". Esta realidad puede tener serias consecuencias para Puerto Rico en el futuro. Mientras tanto, afecta directamente e indirectamente al programa de la División.

Si a estas realidades solamente mencionadas en forma muy superficial, se le añaden otras, tales como: las huelgas escolares y lo que en realidad éstas significan hoy día en los Estados Unidos; la campaña de los pobres; la guerra contra la pobreza y la competencia que como resultado ha surgido entre grupos; los grupos militantes tanto de extrema derecha como de extrema izquierda y el movimiento contra la guerra en Vietnan, entre otras situaciones que existen en este país, hoy día se podrán empezar a entender las vicisitudes por las cuales están pasando los puertorriqueños en Estados Unidos. Todos estos "issues" han afectado al programa de la División durante este año y continuarán haciéndolo durante los años venideros.

APPENDIX 2

COMPARISON OF LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF NON-CONTRACT FARMWORKERS IN CONNECTICUT, 1958-1974[1]

Presented below is a comparison of living and working conditions of non-contract farmworkers in Southeastern Connecticut during the years 1958 and 1974. The comparisons are based on two studies, performed in 1958 and 1974, respectively: "A Study of Migratory Puerto Rican Agricultural Workers on Farms and Nurseries in the New Haven Area," performed in 1958 by Daniel Douchian for the Human Relations Council of Greater New Haven (mimeographed); and "Migrant Health in Connecticut: An Interim Report," prepared in 1974 by Stuart Lefkowich and William Faraclas for the Department of Community Affairs of the State of Connecticut (mimeographed). These studies have been selected for analysis because they represent the Puerto Rican migrant labor system in its simplest form, as a direct employee-employer relationship with no influence exerted upon it by the Puerto Rican farm labor contract. It should be noted at the outset that there do exist outside influences on the farmworker-employee relationship in 1974, chiefly the Federal and State legislation described in Chapter I. However, the system exists otherwise in a form preferred by a number of growers, who state that if left alone, the employers and the workers will arrive at mutually beneficial arrangement. The picture presented below clearly shows that few benefits to the worker in such a laissez-faire situation have accrued during the last eighteen years.

Workers in the New Haven Area, 1958

Documented here are working and living conditions of migrant farmworkers not under the farm labor contract negotiated by the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Similar conditions still exist on many small non-contract farms in New England, and some contract farms in the Connecticut Valley still display conditions with only slight improvements in housing conditions over those described here.

During the 1958 agricultural season, 186 Puerto Rican farmworkers were found working and living at 36 different truck farms and nurseries located in the New Haven area. Many of the workers had been recruited that season or during previous seasons through unlicensed, private, out-of-state employment agencies and contractors. These agencies often provided inexperienced, unwilling, or unhealthy workers, charged exhorbitant fees and fares to both the worker and the farmer, and undercut local labor standards by providing a source of cheap labor. The employers advanced the cost of the air fare from Puerto Rico, and the workers repaid it from their earnings during the course of the season. The workers then paid their own way back to Puerto Rico at the end of the season.

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[1] Appendix prepared by the author of this dissertation.

On the farms, about 80% of the workers earned 65¢ an hour or less, and some were paid as little as 51¢ an hour. Over 80% of the workers worked generally 11 hours a day or more, half of them worked 12 hours a day or more, and 30% worked 13 hours a day or more. Almost all of them worked 6½ days a week, and ¼ worked regularly seven days a week. Most of the workers generally worked 75 hours a week or more, and about 30% usually worked 85 hours a week or more. Overtime pay was almost unheard of, and only 13% of the workers could count on receiving some kind of bonus if they stayed on the job until the end of the season. Over ⅔ of the workers received no pay when bad weather interfered with outdoor work, nor were given alternative indoor work at such time. Only 5% received full pay under all weather conditions, and 17% were required to work outdoors even in stormy weather, often getting soaked in the process.

Only ¼ of the workers had been brought under Social Security, even though the law required employers to do so, and only 4% of the employers provided workers with statements of earnings and deductions at pay time.

In terms of season-long earnings, a worker who was paid 65¢ an hour and worked 77 hours a week could earn about $50.00 per week. Over a season of 28 weeks, he could earn approximately $1,400. However, if he lost two weeks of work due to bad weather, his earnings would be reduced to $1,300 for the 6½ month season. Of this $130 was deducted for the air trip to and from Puerto Rico, about $10 per week was spent on food, and $5 per week on incidentals. This left him with about $750, or approximately $27 per week with which to support his family, pay for his clothes, and cover medical expenses, as most of the workers were expected to pay their own expenses in case of illness, and neither the farmers nor workers seemed to know the workers were legally to be covered under Workmen's Compensation.

Only 15% of the farms provided satisfactory housing. The rest were substandard with respect to minimum comfort, safety, and sanitation. Most farms were furnished with only cold water for bathing, washing dishes, and laundering; some had no running water in the living quarters at all. Three fourths of the farms had toilet facilities which were unacceptable; some had toilet facilities only in the form of latrines, some located as far as ¼ mile from the living quarters. In many instances, there was no separation between the cooking and sleeping quarters. Sleeping space was overcrowded, with often no linen and only blankets that were not changed during the entire season. There were farms where no tables or chairs were provided, and the workers had to sit on their cots to eat or rest. Screens were lacking at over 1/3 of the farms, and the same proportion had no heaters.

Linguistically and culturally inarticulate in the Connecticut setting, with no time to mix with the general community or physical access to it, the workers' morale was poor, ranging from sullen indifference to active discontent and resentment.

Workers in Southeastern Connecticut, 1974

Sixty-four Puerto Ricans living and working on small farms were interviewed in the Lefkowich-Faraclas study. The workers on one farm had been hired through a contract. All the others worked on the basis of an oral agreement with the employer. They were hired through an informal procedure of correspondence, an illegal practice under Puerto Rican law. The study does not state whether the employers cover the cost of transportation to and from the work site, but the general practice observed by the author on non-contract camps is that they presently do, largely under the indirect influence of the provisions of the Puerto Rican contract. Neither does the study indicate whether the workers complete their agreements with the employer.

It has been the author's observation that turnover on the smaller non-contract farms is lower than on the large contract camps. Nevertheless, it appears that a number of non-contract workers do quit before the end of the season and pay their way home.

The median of work hours per day was 9.5 hours, with a range of 8 to 13 hours. The median of days worked per week was 6.5, with a range of 5 to 7 days. Both daily and weekly work hours coincide roughly with those of workers in 1958. On the average the workers interviewed had come to Connecticut as migrant farmworkers for 5.25 years, a figure similar to that for contract workers in 1974. The average hourly wage was $2.00, compared with $2.05 for contract workers during the same time. The median of weekly income reported was $110, and income for the year was reported at $1,800. Ninety percent of the workers said they are the sole money earners in their families. It is notable that the average annual earnings for these non-contract workers have risen only about $400 in 18 years from the $1,400 reported by Donchian, especially when weekly work hours were only slightly lower in 1974. The workers in 1974 paid for their food, which they generally shopped for and cooked in after working hours. In about 25% of the cases, the grower or foreman did the food shopping for the workers. A significant number of complaints were expressed regarding kitchen facilities and equipment.

Housing for the workers generally consisted of quonset huts or cinder block bunkhouses. The facilities were generally small, with a kitchen, bathroom, and one or more bedrooms. Only the largest facilities had a common room for the farmworkers. Each of the workers had his own bed. Eighty-nine percent of the facilities had flush toilets, and eleven percent privies. All had showers or bathtubs, hot and cold running water, electricity, and eighty percent had screens on all windows. Most of these features are an improvement over the labor camps in 1958, but since they are legally called for by the Occupational Safety and Health Act and by the Connecticut Health Department (see Chapter I), it is not known whether they were installed at the request of the workers or by the grower on a voluntary basis, or whether they were installed as a condition for licensing the camp for operation. The health condition of the workers was a major concern of the Lefkowich-Faraclas study. Ninety-two percent of the workers reported that they had suffered injuries or accidents in the last year. Twenty-nine percent reported that they had current health problems, including stomach problems, respiratory ailments, and headaches. Sixty-one percent of those who handled pesticides expressed ill effects at one time or another, including nausea, headaches, and vision problems. Although forty-four percent of the workers described their health as "fair" out of a choice of "excellent," "good," "fair," or "poor," all the growers interviewed siad the health of the workers was excellent. Medical care was generally dependent on the grower in some form or another, such as transportation, permission to visit the doctor, or use of the growers' private physician. Eighty-three percent of the workers interviewed said they had not missed a day's work due to illness. The apparent discrepancy between the accident rate, the self-description of the workers' health, and the low absenteeism may be due to two factors. One is that ninety-one percent of the workers are required to pay for visits to the doctor. Another is that there may be pressure exerted by the grower not to miss work. This may be partly substantiated by the interviewers' report that "many farmworkers were hesitant to participate in the survey," even though it was conducted with the assistance of a Puerto Rican translator. They felt that "the non-participation was caused by fear of reprisal, a distrust of the survey team." The interviewers were banned entry to two farm labor camps by the growers, even though they introduced themselves as state employees. The Donchian study refers to an almost identical atmosphere existing in 1958, with growers controlling the most basic actions of the workers, including their right of free access to health care. During the 1974 season, an employer of nearly forty non-contract workers in Meriden, Connecticut, refused entry to the camp by a Federal project designed to provide medical care to migrant farmworkers.

As in 1958, there was little time in 1974 for recreation on the non-contract labor camps seen by Lefkowich and Faraclas. The workers spend their free time watching television, talking, gardening, and, at the larger camps, playing softball. Visits to and from friends off the camp were made only occasionally. Worker attitudes in 1974 seem to be generally similar to those described in the 1958 study. The fact that 50% to 75% of the workers in the 1974 study return each year may have more to do with the economic situation in Puerto Rico than with their job preference, since the Faraclas-Lefkowich study found that one of the general problems identified by the workers was "the acknowledgement that work was too hard."

In conclusion, it may be said that a comparison of the Donchian and Lefkowich-Faraclas studies reveals little change in many of the conditions of life and work of Puerto Rican non-contract migrant farmworkers since 1958.

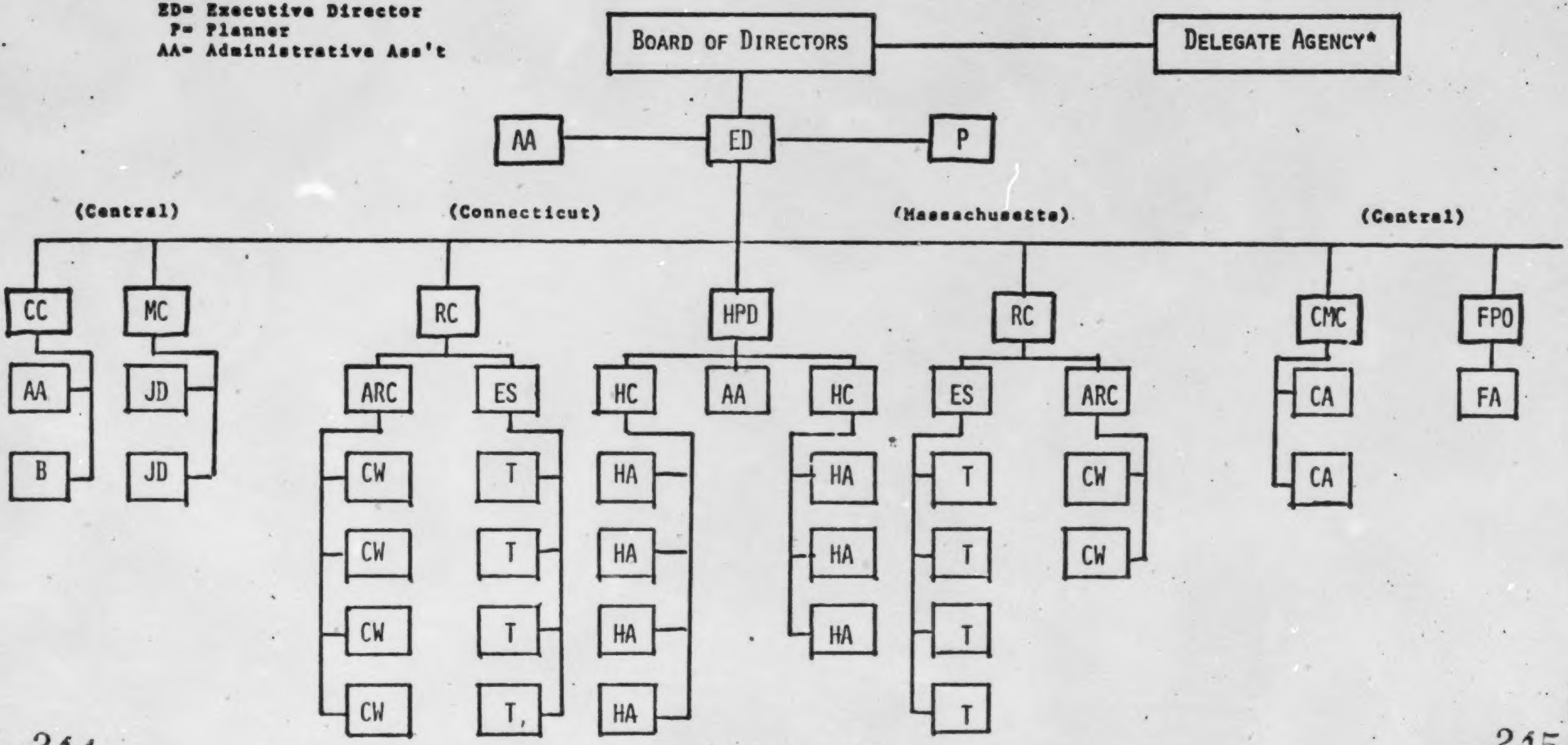
APPENDIX 3

*Contracted Legal Services

NEW ENGLAND FARM WORKERS' COUNCIL

STAFFING CHART

ED= Executive Director
P= Planner
AA= Administrative Ass't



CC= Cooperatives Coordinator
AA= Administrative Ass't
B= Bookkeeper (cooperatives)
MC= Manpower Coordinator
JD= Job Developer

RC=Regional Coordinator
ARC=Ass't Regional Coord.
ES=Education Specialist
CW=Contact Worker
T=Teacher

HPD=Health Project Director
AA=Administrative Ass't
HC= Health Coordinator
HA=Health Aide

CMC=Communications Coord.
CA=Communications Ass't
FPO=Fiscal/Purchasing Officer
FA=Financial Ass't

RESPONSE OF GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO TO PETITIONING PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

El Gobernador del
Estado Libre Asociado
DE PUERTO RICO

28 de agosto de 1973

Sr. Luis Angel Santiago y otros
c/o New England Farm Workers Council
3502 Main Street
Springfield, Massachusetts 01107

Estimados compatriotas:

He recibido vuestra carta del 15 de agosto y la he leído con gran interés por tratarse de quejas genuinas expresadas por trabajadores puertorriqueños que mi gobierno tiene el deber de proteger al máximo posible.

He referido también vuestra comunicación al Secretario del Trabajo, Dr. Luis Silva Recio. El, por encomienda mía, actualmente está llevando a cabo una investigación al respecto en la División de Migración de ese Departamento, la cual tiene a su cargo la supervisión del contrato agrícola. De los cambios que ustedes recomiendan, estamos estudiando cuáles pueden hacerse de inmediato y he dado instrucciones de que se corrijan las fallas a la mayor brevedad posible. Además, tenemos planes para cuando se esté negociando el convenio para el 1974, se tomen en consideración las quejas que ustedes exponen en su carta y que se busque la manera de que los obreros estén genuinamente representados en dichas negociaciones.

Con la esperanza de que sus quejas sean atendidas con prontitud y deseándoles buena suerte y un feliz regreso a la patria, quedo de ustedes,

Cordialmente,

Rafael Hernández Colón

El Gobernador del
Estado Libre Asociado
DE PUERTO RICO

28 de agosto de 1973

Sr. Bruce Young Candelaria
Director Ejecutivo
New England Farm Workers Council
3502 Main Street
Springfield, Massachusetts 01107

Estimado Sr. Young Candelaria:

Le acompaño copia de la carta que he enviado en el día de hoy al grupo de más de mil trabajadores agrícolas migrantes puertorriqueños que recientemente se comunicaron conmigo a través de usted.

Deseo agradecerle su interés en este asunto de tan vital importancia para nuestros compatriotas en Estados Unidos.

Me consta que el Concilio que usted dirige lleva a cabo muchos y buenos esfuerzos en favor del bienestar del trabajador agrícola puertorriqueño. Aprovecho para desearle el mayor de los éxitos en sus labores.

Cordialmente,

Rafael Hernández Colón

APPENDIX 4-b

CORRESPONDENCE OF GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO PERTAINING TO N.E.F.W.C. ROLE IN PETITION SENT TO GOVERNOR BY PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

NEFWC STAFF PLANNING FORM BASED ON ORGANIZATIONAL OBJECTIVES

COMPONENT Outreach-State

PLANNING REPORT TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

WEEK OF __/__ (Monday of next week)

PAGE __ OF __

NAME Name of reporting supervisor

LONG RANGE GOAL	SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVE	DATES start	DATES end	INPUTS (materials, personnel, equipment etc.)	dates	STATUS & PROBLEMS
Pre-vocational ed. to # workers	"Cheques" class----------	----------	----------	---Name of camp/name of staff member involved/equipment and materials to be used ----	--date of class	
Provide transportation services to # workers ---	Compras ----------	----------	----------	---Name of camp/name of staff member involved/equipment & materials to be used ----	--date of compras	
Promote farmworker involvement in program decisions ---	Consejeria meeting----------	----------	----------	---Camps involved/staff involved/materials & if possible Agenda ----	--date of meeting	
THESE ARE ANNUAL PROGRAM GOALS, TAKEN FROM OUR PROPOSAL	THESE ARE ACTIVITIES YOU & YOUR STAFF WILL PERFORM NEXT WEEK TO MEET THE GOAL.	THIS IS USED IF ITS GOING TO BE A SERIES OF ACTIVITIES		THESE ARE THE RESOURCES YOU WILL NEED TO CARRY OUT THE ACTIVITY NEXT WEEK.		THIS IS TO BE FILLED OUT BY YOU TO RECORD THE RESULTS OF YOUR ACTIVITY AND PROGRESS TOWARD THE GOAL

APPENDIX 6-a

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED AT BEGINNING AND END OF NEFWC STAFF TRAINING, FEB. 5-7, 1973.

CUESTIONARIO

Este cuestionario sirve para determinar su conocimiento de las metas, historia, procedimientos, y funciones diarias del Consejo. Se ofrecera este cuestionario otra vez al final de este entrenamiento para determinar la eficacia del mismo. NO ESCRIBA SU NOMBRE EN ESTE CUESTIONARIO. Por favor sientase que puede responder a estas preguntas en completa confianza.

1. Çonoce usted los Reglamentos Internos (By-laws) del Consejo?

Muy Bien_____ Bien_____ Suficiente__________ Poco______ No conozco._____

2. Conoce usted la historia del Consejo?

Muy bien_____ Bien_____ Suficiente_________ Poco______ No conozco._______

3. Conoce usted el Contrato del Personal (Personnel Policies) del Consejo?

Muy bien_____ Bien____ Suficiente______ Poco______ No conozco _______

4. Conoce usted las tareas de trabajo de los otros miembros del personal?

Muy bien_____ Bien ____ Suficiente _____ Poco _____ No conozco______

5. Conoce usted las metas del Consejo para el año 1973?

Muy bien____ Bien ____ Suficiente _____ Poco _____ No conozco _____

6. Sabe usted de donde y como vienen los fondos para las funciones del Consejo?

Muy bien ____ Bien ____ Suficiente ____ Poco ____ No conozco _____

7. Conoce usted los otros miembros del personal del Consejo?

Conozco a todos____ Conozco muchos _____ Conozco pocos _____ No conozco _____

8. Conoce usted su descripción de trabajo (Job Description)?

Muy bien ____ Bien ____ Suficiente ____ Poco ____ No conozco ____

9. Conoce usted las metas y el funcionamiento de su componente en el Consejo?

Muy bien ____ Bien ____ Suficiente ____ Poco ____ No conozco____

10. Se siente usted bien entrenado y orientado para cumplir su trabajo?

Muy bien ____ Bien ____ Suficiente ____ Poco ____ No me siento entrena

11. Conoce usted en funcionamiento de los otros componentes del Consejo?

11. Conoce usted el funcionamiento de los otros componentes del Consejo?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco ____ No conozco____

12. Conoce usted el ambiente político en que trabaja el Consejo?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco____ No conozco____

13. Conoce usted como y donde se hacen las decisiones en el Consejo?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco____ No conozco____

14. Conoce usted la función de la Junta de Directores el Consejo y las Consejerias Regionales?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco____ No conozco____

15. Conoce usted los recursos que estan disponibles en las varias comunidades de Connecticut y Massachusetts que se pueden usar para el beneficio del trabajador agrícola?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco____ No conozco____

16. Se siente usted que esta aprendiendo algo de valor en el Consejo?

Mucho____ Bastante____ Regular____ Poco____ Nada____

17. Cree usted que su opinion es escuchada y utilizada por su supervisor?

Muy bien____ Bien____ Suficiente____ Poco____ No es eschuchada____

18. Cree usted que esta haciendo algo de valor para el trabajador agrícola?

Mucho____ Bastante____ Poco____ Muy Poco____ Nada____

Comparison of Responses to Questionnaire Completed by Council Staff Before and After Training Session of February 5, 6, and 7, 1973

1.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	2	Bien	7	Suficiente	7	Poco	7	No	1
	AFTER	Muy Bien	6	Bien	14	Suficiente	4	Poco	1	No	1
2.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	6	Bien	6	Suficiente	4	Poco	6	No	2
	AFTER	Muy Bien	7	Bien	11	Suficiente	7	Poco	2	No	0
3.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	6	Bien	7	Suficiente	6	Poco	6	No	1
	AFTER	Muy Bien	14	Bien	9	Suficiente	8	Poco	1	No	0
4.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	6	Bien	6	Suficiente	6	Poco	3	No	3
	AFTER	Muy Bien	9	Bien	7	Suficiente	8	Poco	3	No	0
5.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	6	Bien	5	Suficiente	3	Poco	10	No	1
	AFTER	Muy Bien	12	Bien	4	Suficiente	10	Poco	1	No	0
6.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	11	Bien	10	Suficiente	2	Poco	1	No	2
	AFTER	Muy Bien	18	Bien	4	Suficiente	4	Poco	1	No	0
7.	BEFORE	Todos	5	Muchos	13	Pocos	5	Ninguno	1		
	AFTER	Todos	13	Muchos	11	Pocos	3	Ninguno	0		
8.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	17	Bien	5	Suficiente	1	Poco	1	No	0
	AFTER	Muy Bien	17	Bien	7	Suficiente	2	Poco	0	No	0
9.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	13	Bien	3	Suficiente	4	Poco	5	No	0
	AFTER	Muy Bien	14	Bien	8	Suficiente	6	Poco	0	No	0
10.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	7	Bien	10	Suficiente	3	Poco	3	No	2
	AFTER	Muy Bien	8	Bien	9	Suficiente	6	Poco	1	No	0
11.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	7	Bien	5	Suficiente	7	Poco	2	No	4
	AFTER	Muy Bien	10	Bien	8	Suficiente	10	Poco	0	No	0
12.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	5	Bien	4	Suficiente	5	Poco	7	No	4
	AFTER	Muy Bien	9	Bien	8	Suficiente	10	Poco	0	No	0
13.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	8	Bien	6	Suficiente	3	Poco	6	No	3
		Muy Bien	12	Bien	4	Suficiente	9	Poco	1	No	0
14.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	8	Bien	5	Suficiente	5	Poco	5	No	2
	AFTER	Muy Bien	8	Bien	10	Suficiente	6	Poco	2	No	1
15.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	4	Bien	4	Suficiente	5	Poco	9	No	1
	AFTER	Muy Bien	6	Bien	3	Suficiente	7	Poco	9	No	2
16.	BEFORE	Mucho	14	Bastante	9	Regular	2	Poco	0	No	0
	AFTER	Mucho	14	Bastante	11	Regular	2	Poco	0	No	0
17.	BEFORE	Muy Bien	11	Bien	6	Suficiente	7	Poco	1	No	0
	AFTER	Muy Bien	12	Bien	5	Suficiente	8	Poco	1	No	1
18.	BEFORE	Mucho	10	Bastante	13	Poco	0	Muy Poco	1	Nada	1
	AFTER	Mucho	11	Bastante	10	Poco	3	Muy Poco	2	Nada	1

Appendix 6-c

REVIEW OF THE IN-HOUSE TRAINING SESSION FOR THE NEW AND OLD STAFF OF THE NEW ENGLAND FARM WORKERS' COUNCIL *

February 5, 6, and 7, 1973

Introduction

The New England Farm Workers' Council is a non-profit corporation based in Springfield, Massachusetts, whose role it is to advocate for and provide services to migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the areas of legal and health services, jobs and training, communications (a weekly newsletter is distribuited during the agricultural season in farmworker camps and the cities), and transportation. It has also sought this year to investigate the feasibility of developing consumer and credit cooperatives among the farmworkers in the Connecticutt River Valley, and to develop bridges with the government in Puerto Rico, where most of the farmworkers come from, in order to later provide services to farmworkers on the island. The main thrust of the Council is in the short run to provide basic services which are available to the larger community in the Valley but inaccessible to the farmworkers because of physical isolation on the camps or language and cultural barriers in the cities. In the long run, the Council plans to provide alternatives to farmwork which can be economically and personally rewarding, both in New England and in the home region of the migrants.

The Council has behind it a year's experience, having begun its work in January of 1972 under a grant for $250,000 by the Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is now moving into its second season, with additional new staff and a new project for the delivery of comprehensive health care to farmworkers on camps and, to a limited degree, to those in Springfield, Massachusetts. This new venture is funded by HEW for $125,000 and adds thirteen persons to the Council staff, bringing the total to forty. The entire staff is bilingual or fluent in Spanish.

I have been Executive Director of the Council since January, 1972.

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* Paper submitted to Prof. Kenneth Blanchard, School of Education, U. of Mass., Spring, 1973.

I. The purpose of the staff training

First of all, I feel I must claim that I designed the staff training almost entirely, with some cooperation of the various component heads in determining the structure of the training and the order of the various exercises.
It is unfortunate that in writing papers such as this one, and in seeking academic recognition in general, one must generally distinguish one's accomplishments from the contributions of others to it. Having to take this posture is particularly distasteful to someone who is trying to become a good manager, since management by definition requires group effort, and the rewards of good management are shared by the entire group. The fact is that the training session's plans ware initiated by me, but they were sounded off and approved by a particularly fine group of supervisors, the Council's senior staff. It is also true that I ran most of the training, but it was a success largely because the new staff wanted to learn, and the old staff wanted to contribute. My input came in developing an agenda and creating an atmosphere conducive to an active training session, and that is my job as a manager. But you have to start with a good group in order to do something good, particularly with the time and resource constraints of most organizations; you can't train a nag to run in the Derby.

The main purpose of the training session was to integrate the staff into a team, especially now that we will be performing more functions with a larger staff. Specific skills training has been left up to other training sessions in the near future; here we were concerned with getting to know each other's function and reviewing and finding new ways to work on an interpersonal and intercomponent level. So much of the group exercises involved members of different components working together on a task. The session started with a multiple-choice questionnaire covering the Council's goals, structure, staff, history, politics, etc., to be filled out with no name by the staff. The same questionnairs was offered at the end of the training, and served as a measure of the learning experience. Responses improved markedly between the first and second testings.

The session was not necessarily destined for success before it started. A struggle for control of the staff had vitiated the Council through the Fall, and the departure of the farmworers in October and November, together with an extended vacation period for nearly all the staff in December and January, prevented effective reorganization and redirection of efforts. With everyone back from vacation, the new health project staff on board as of February 1st., and the prospect of a new agricultural season beginning in the middle of March, the first Monday in February was the right date to mark the end of the off-season and begin to put together a team.

II. The structure of the training session

After the initial questionnaire, the agenda of the training session was presented. The first section would be dedicated to familiarization among the staff and work in groups. The second, to descriptions and workshops in the Council's work as determined in the OEO and HEW proposals and the Council's other basic documents; in addition, the functions of each component would be outlined by its respective coordinator, and a discussion would be held concerning the Council as a political organization having to deal with funding sources, state governments, other organizations dedicated to serving farmworkers and other poor, and with the regional Growers' Association. The third section would be devoted to workshops on individual job descriptions and interrelations of individuals and components, to conclude with a case study in solving the problems of a hypothetical farmworker by using Council and outside resources.

The first exercise, performed to break the ice and set the tone of work in groups, was new to most of the staff. To a background of music, the entire staff walked around the room, first ignoring each others' presence, then making eye contact, and finally making physical contact. This is a common exercise among university and middle class groups, but it is quite an experience for the farmworkers and other Latins on the staff, with their traditional physical reserve from strangers or mere acquaintances. It broke the ice alright, and had everyone laughing at the and. We followed up with an exercise of working in groups which elicited from ten staff members selected at random ten one-line definitions of "What the Migrant Needs Most." The entire group was informed of the various kinds of group behavior which fall under the titles of task, maintenance, and emotional orientation, and requested to note these behaviors in the selected group of ten, who were instructed to sit together in the middle of the group and select within ten minutes of discussion one of the ten definitions of "What the Migrant Needs Most." After the discussion, during which numerous m of behavior were exhibited and no specific choice made, ideo recording of it was replayed, and further discussion group work dynamics took place. One of the implicit conclusions of the discussion was that structure and authority were needed to perform work in groups, but that a free consideration of the opinion of each member resulted in a better grasp of the task. After several months of not having worked closely together as a total group, this conclusion was not bad at all.

I will not dwell on the content of the narrative middle section of the training, having to do with the Council's history, goals, procedures and practices, etc, except to note that even though it was not very much of a participatory section of the training, nearly everyone was glad to have the information. Particularly to new members, but also to older members of an organization, the more elements of information introduced to the collage of their particular vision of the organization, the more they seem to be confident of their actions within it. They feel "in the know."

The third section was the most active of the training, as it dealt with the nature of the individual jobs in the Council and the interrelation between components and individuals. This was done on a workshop and total group, participatory level. The first exercise, familiarization with each others' job descriptions, was done by selecting random groups and requesting their members to exchange job descriptions in workshop format and return to the main group with recommendations on how best to effectuate each others' jobs and insure smooth teamwork between components. The result was a series of recommendations by the group on how each component could better do its job; it afforded the opportunity for offering opinions about each others' jobs and components in a low-risk atmosphere. The final comments were far more positive than those which appeared in a written prelude to this exercise in which the staff was asked to anonymously write what work they thought positions other than their own called for.

After this analysis of written and real job descriptions, there followed a brainstorming session which created Juan Gonzales, a hypothetical farmworker with thirty separate problems. The job was to resolve his problems using the resources of the Council and of the community at large. The group broke up into workshops, each handling a half dozen of Gonzales' problems. When the group reorganized, step by step procedures to solve Gonzales' problems were put forth by spokesmen for each workshop. This provided the staff with a dry run on intercomponent work and made available a lot of information about Council and community resources. With this case study concluded the training session.

III. Conclusion: the impact of the training

There was a decided rise in camaraderie during the training, among both old and new staff members. I also think there grew out of the training a greater cohesion among the total staff, therefore accomplishing the goal of the sessions to a great degree. This, in view of the wide differences of experience among the staff: we have Puerto Ricans, Anglos, Mexicans, South Americans; professionals, including two Fulbright Fellows and a former nun; ex-farmworkers hired off the labor camps; and non-farmworkers, including a prisoner on work-release status. We are working in scattered groups in a 90-mile long piece of the Connecticuttt Valley in Massachusetts and Connecticutt, performing different and interdependent functions. As long as this feeling of cohesion is cultivated through regular exchange among the entire staff, the more topical training sessions ahead will help improve the Council's overall performance.

##########

ITINERARIO DE ACTIVIDADES
ENTRENAMIENTO DEL PERSONAL

Lunes, 5 de febrero a las 10 AM

I. TRABAJANDO EN GRUPO

a. Cuestionario inicial.
b. Ejercicio de familiarizacion.
c. Ejercicio en trabajo de grupo.

II. El Consejo como organizacion

a. Reglamentos, incorporacion, estructura.
b. Reglamento del Personal.
c. Metas y objetivos determinados por la Junta para 1973.

Martes, 6 de febrero 1973 a las 10 AM

d. El trabajo de cada componente tal como descrito en los documentos a OEO y HEW.

e. El ambiente de fondos y politico.

III. El Consejo en Accion

a. Descripciones de trabajo: Discusion en grupos.
Metas y objetivos de componente. Trabajo en grupos.
b. Relaciones entre componentes. Trabajo en Grupos.

Miercoles, 7 de febrero a las 10 AM

a. Bosquejo de recursos dentro y fuera del Consejo para servir al trabajador agricola.
b. Estudio en el uso de recursos del Consejo y de la comunidad para resolver problemas del trabajador agricola.

##############

CONSEJO DE TRABAJADORES
DE FINCA
DE NUEVA INGLATERRA
3502 MAIN STREET
SPRINGFIELD, MASS. 01107
(413) 786-4525

144 MAIN STREET
WINDSOR LOCKS, CONNECTICUT
Tel. (203) 623-5642

90 SOUTH MAIN STREET
SOUTH DEERFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
Tel. (413) 665-2272

Appendix 7

SCHEDULE OF STAFF TRAINING SESSIONS
August & September, 1973

ITINERARIO DE SESIONES DE ENTRENAMIENTO

A traves de las proximas semanas se efectuaran unas sesiones de entrenamiento con el proposito de evaluar nuestra labor hasta el presente, fijar metas para el futuro inmediato y el ano proximo, y establecer nuevos metodos de trabajo para el periodo restante de la temporada agricola. Lo que sigue es el itinerario de estos entrenamientos, tentativamente.

Semana del 20 al 24 de agosto:

lunes 20 y martes 21:	9AM-12 mediodia	Entrenamiento sobre presentaciones de educacion. Contact Workers, Asistentes a Coordinador, Coordinador asistiran. Comenzando la semana del 27 de agosto estas personas coordinaran o presentaran presentaciones del Consejo a diario.
	1PM-5PM	Entrenamiento sobre comites de campamento. Este entrenamiento en espanol sera asistido por todas las personas que no asistieron a la sesion en ingles en U Mass y que sean Contact Workers, Health Aides, Coordinadores o Asistentes.

Semana del 27 al 31 de agosto:

Lunes 27 y martes 28:	1PM-4PM	Entrenamiento sobre evaluacion de nuestros proyectos. Se efectuara una evaluacion de los proyectos entre nosotros mismos. Esta sesion contribuye directamente a las que siguen en las proximas semanas.

Semana del 4 al 7 de septiembre:

Martes 4 y miercoles 5	1PM-4PM	Entrenamiento sobre establecimiento de metas de trabajo. Se estableceran metas para septiebre, octubre, y noviembre.

Semana del 10 al 14 de septiembre:

Lunes 10 y martes 11, 1-4PM:	Entrenamiento sobre establecimiento de metas de trabajo. Se estableceran metas tentativas para el invierno.
Jueves 13 y viernes 14, 1-4PM:	Establecimiento de metas de trabajo para la temporada de 1974. Estas recomendaciones del personal se presentaran a la Junta de Directores para incorporacion a nuestros planes formales a someterse en la solicitud de fondos.

Asistencia de todo el personal sera necesaria en todas estas sesiones, a menos que intervenga el itinerario de trabajo, en cual caso se efectuaran arreglos para asegurar asistencia a la mayoria de las sesiones.

Bruce Young C.

Bruce Young Candelaria,
Director Ejecutivo

Appendix 7

REPORT ON PAULO FREIRE METHOD LITERACY TRAINING CLASSES

The purpose of this experimental program was primarily to decide whether the Paulo Freire method of literacy training would be a useful tool to help the migrant workers become literate in Spanish.

Despite various problems at the beginning, and minor ones throughout, I believe I was able to show that, with more time and better materials, the method would be effective.

The first class was held on Wednesday, June 21, at 7 p.m. in the Windsor Locks Center. Susequently, the classes were held each Tuesday and Thursday at 7 p.m.

The first word to be used was "trabajo". This word was chosen for its pertinence to the lives of the participants, and in order to make the discussion flow more easily. Some of the lead question s were: 1) What is the importance of work? 2) For whom do you work? 3) What kind of work would you enjoy doing most? etc.

Subsequent words were: tabaco, contrato, and cosecha. Each lesson took approximately two sessions to complete.

From my observation, it was evident that only two of the participants were actually illiterate. The rest of the participants were, to some degree, functionally illiterate (i.e. could read and write on a limited basis).

Overall, the participants seemed to be interested in the lesson content, liked the lesson format, and indicated that they enjoyed the discussion part of the lessons most of all. I b eliev e that this part of the program (discussions) was the most effective, especially in imparting a sense of identity, confidence in their own ideas and sense of having somthing worthwile to say.

There were two major problems in the organization of the literacy classes, mostly due to technical matters: identification of students enough in advance and the problem of transportation if the students came from various camps, and drawing and preparing of overheads.

Of these two problems, the most critical to the program is the preparation of overheads since they are the primary tool in the actual "teaching" process. For future classes, these iverheads should be prepared in advance so that the coordinator will not have to improvise a lesson.

Two minor problems, which were nevertheless somewhat of a hindrance were: uncertainty as to whether the overhead projector would be available or in working condition, and the need to move the classes when other events were scheduled for the center. Moving the classes to another center tended to inhibit some of the participants, particularly in the discussion section of the lessons.

For future classes, I would suggest:

1. Have coordinator participate in the identification of the participants.
2. Choose a location for the classes that will be fairly stable.
3. Make sure that the entire curriculum is prepared before the classes begin.

4. Make sure that the necessary equipment is available, as well as any replacements that might become necessary.
5. Start the classes earlier in the year to give the participants optimum opportunity to become accustomed to the lessons and to gain enough confidence to speak up during the discussions.

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1. Report and project performed by Julia M. Ramos McKay, a teaching consultant with the Council during 1972.

"TRABAJO"

1. Describir o nombrar todo lo que se ve en la lamina.

Se puede preguntar:
a) Que vemos en la lamina?

b) Quienes aparecen?

c) Que estan haciendo?

2. Analizar y discutir todo lo que encierra la lamina.

Se puede preguntar:

a) Cual es la importancia del trabajo?

b) Para quien es importante el trabajo?

c) Para quien trabajan Uds.?

d) Que clase de trabajo hacen Uds.?

e) Por que hacen este trabajo?

3. Comparar lo que hay en la lamina con la vida real.

a) Que clase de trabajo desearian Uds. hacer?

b) Para quien deberian Uds. trabajar?

4. Resumir todo lo conversado.

a) Sobre que hemos conversado en esta reuhion?

b) Que actitud nueva hemos descubierto que nos ayude a mejorar nuestras condiciones de trabajo?

1 Despues de un tiempo, en que los participantes hayan creado sus palabras, se escribe en la pizarra la palabra "trabajo" en letra de imprenta y se avisa al grupo que vamos a escribir lo mismo debajo pero lo vamos a hacer en manuscrito.

2 Pedimos al grupo que observen el movimiento que hacemos con la mano, y los invitamos a leer y comparar. Luego pedimos que copen en sus libretas la palabra en manuscrito.

3 El coordinador escribira en la pizarra la ficha del descubrimiento en imprenta y manuscrito, tratando que las silabas coincidan para que las vayan identificando.

4 Cuando hayan observado bien la escritura de cada silaba, se entregara a cada uno una hoja con la palabra "trabajo" y la ficha del descubrimiento en manuscrito. (Estas hojas deben ser hechas antes de la sesion por el coordinador para que las entregue al grupo en este momento.)

5 Se pide al grupo que copie el contenido de esta hoja en una libreta. Se invita a que formen palabras y las escriban en sus libretas.

6 El coordinador escribira en la pizarra las palabras formadas y pedira al grupo que las lean. Si es necesario, se escribiran estas palabras en imprenta y manuscrito y se pedira que las lean. Se puede borrar la imprenta y pedir que lean del manuscrito.

7 El coordinador escribira otras palabras que salgan de la ficha; pedira que las lean y las copien en sus libretas.

8 Se reunira lo escrito y el grupo corregira sus errores de escritura. El coordinador escribira las palabras en forma correcta.

9 - Podrian dictarse algunas palabras y corregirse el dictado.

BALABRA GENERADORA #2

TABACO

1. Describir o nombrar todo lo que se ve en la lamina.

Se puede preguntar:

a. Que vemos en la lamina?
b. Quêenes aparacen?
c. Que estan haciendo?

2. Analizar y discutir todo lo que encierra la lamina.

Se pudde preguntar:

a. Qual ês la importancia del tobaco?
b. Para quien es importante el tabaco?
c. A quien pertenece la finca?
d. Quienes son los que trabajan en el tabaco?
e. Porque trabajan el tabaco?

3. Comparar lo que hay en la lamina con la vida en Puerto Rico.

Que tipo de trabajo hace el jibaro en Puerto Rico?
En Puerto Rico a quien pertenece el campo? Que se siembra en Puerto Rico?

4. Resumir todo lo conversado

Sobre que hemos conversado en esta reunión?
Que actitud nueva hemos descubierto que nos ayude a mejorar nuestras condiciones de vida?

Alguna recomendaciones para el dictado

1 El coordinador selecciona algunas palabras de las formadas por el grupo. Las escribe en la pizarra en imprenta y manuscrito. Lo hace lentamente pidiendo al grupo que observen su mano al escribir.

2 Leen varias veces. Pide a un participante que lea en voz clara y lenta las palabras y al grupo que escuche y observe las palabras leyendolar en silencio.

3 Enseguida borra la manuscrita, dicta lento y claro.

4 El grupos copia en sus cuadernos, el capacitador vuelve a escribir la palabra de nuevo e invita al grupo a comparar lo que escribieron y a corregirlo si es necesario.

5 Puede comenzar solo con palabras y despues cuando esten mas capacitados escribir frases al dictado.

Estas frases se pueden pedir al mismo grupo que las forme y las dicte.

1. Tabaco - tabaco
Taco - taco Taco

3 tabaco - ~~tabaco~~
taco - ~~taco~~

4 tabaco - tabaco
Taco - taco

5

EJERCICIOS ESCRITURA "TABACO"

1 Despues de un tiempo, en que los participantes hayan creado sus palabras, escribir en la pizarra la palabra tabaco en imprenta y avisar al grupo que vamos a escribir lo mismo debajo pero, lo vamos a hacer en manuscrito.

tabaco
tabaco

2 Pedimos al grupo observe el movimiento que hacemos con la mano, y lo invitamos a leer y comparar. Luego pedimos que copien en sus cuadernos la palabra manuscrita.

tabaco

3 El coordinador escribira en el pizarron la ficha del descubrimiento en imprenta y manuscrito, tratando que las silabas coincidan para que las vayan identificando.

ta te ti to tu
ta te ti to tu
ba be bi bo bu
ba be bi bo bu
ca ce ci co cu
ca ce ci co cu

4 Cuando hayan observado bien la escritura de cada pedazo, se entregara a cada uno una hoja con la palabra tabaco y la ficha del descubrimiento en manuscrito. (Estas hojas deben ser hechas antes de la sesion hecha por el coordinador, para que las entregue al grupo en este momento.

tabaco
ta te ti to tu
ba be bi bo bu
ca ce ci co cu

5 Se pide al grupo que copie el contenido de esta hoja en un cuaderno. Se invita a que formen palabras y las escriban en sus cuadernos.

tabaco
tabaco
taco
taco
Tito
Tito

6 El coordinador escribira en la pizarra las palabras formadas y pedira que las lean. Si es necesario, se escribiran estas palabras en imprenta y manuscrito y se pedira que las lean. Se puede borrar la imprenta y pedir que lean del manuscrito.

7 El coordinador escribira otras palabras que salgan de la ficha, pedira que las lean y las copien en sus cuadernos.

8 Se reunira lo escrito y el mismo grupo corregira sus errores de escritura. Para esto el coordinador escribira las palabras en forma correcta.

9 Podrian dictarse algunas palabras y corregir el dictado.

8

Corresponde ahora leer las tres familias, en orden y desorden, vertical y horizontal, varias veces. Pedimos que busquen la palabra "tra ba jo" y movemos al grupo para que formen nuevas palabras. (El capacitador ira anotando en su libreta todas las palabras que el grupo forme, no importa que no tengan significado.)

PALABRA GENERADORA #3 "CONTRATO"

Sugerencias para el dialogo:

¿Que muestra la lamina?

¿Que mas vemos?

¿Quien hace el contrato?

¿A quien beneficia el contrato?

¿Como podemos obtener un mejor contrato?

¿Que diria un mejor contrato?

Despues de lo conversado, ¿qué actitud nueva hemos descubierto que nos permita mejorar nuestras condiciones?

LECTURA Y ESCRITURA DE "CONTRATO"

1 Descodificamos la lamina, por medio de la conversacion, sacamos todo su contenido.

2 Preguntamos al grupo, "de que hemos conversado en esta reunion?" Cuando los participantes digan Del Contrato, el coordinador mostrara la palabra "contrato" e invita al grupo a leerla varias veces, observandola muy bien.

3 El coordinador muestra la palabra "contrato" sin la lamina e invita a sus companeros a leerla. Si no se recuerdan les puede mostrar nuevamente la lamina. Pide al grupo que lea lentamente.

4 Invita al grupo a pronunciar la palabra en golpes y enseguida muestra la palabra "con tra to" con sus silabas separadas. Invita a leer y una vez aprendidas las leen en orden y desorden, de adelante hacia atras y de atras hacia adelante.

5 El coordinador invita al grupo a conocer y a leer la familia de con. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que cambian. Leen en forma individual y colectiva. Se puede motivar la formacion de palabras juntando silabas.

6 El coordinador invita a conocer la familia de tra. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que se cambian. Se puede motivar la formacion de las palabras juntando silabas.

7 El coordinador invita a conocer la familia de to. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que cambian.

PALABRA GENERADORA #4

"COSECHA" ✓

Sugerencias para el diálogo

Con algunas preguntas como estas, podremos sostener un importante dialogo con nuestro grupo:

Que muestra la lamina?

Que mas vemos?

Que sucede cuando la cosecha esta en manos de los trabajordores?

A quien beneficia la cosecha?

Como podemos obtener mejores cosechas?

Quien gana cuando la cosecha es buena?

Como afecta una buena cosecha al trabajador migrante?

Despues de lo conversado, que actitud nueva hemos descubierto que nos permita trabajar mejor ay aumentar nuestra produccion?

EJERCICIOS DE LA ESCRITURA DE "COSECHA"

Despues de un tiempo, en que los participantes hayan creado sus palabras, se escribe en la pizarra la palabra "cosecha" en letra de imprenta y se avisa al grupo que vamos a escribir lo mismo debajo pero lo vamos a hacer en manuscrito.

Pedimos al grupo que observen el movimiento que hacemos con la mano, y los invitamos a leer y comparar. Luego pedimos que copien en sus libretas la palabra en manuscrito.

El coordinador escribira en la pizarra la ficha del descubrimiento en imprenta y manuscrito, tratando que las silabas coincidan para que las vayan identificando.

Cuando hayan observado bien la escritura de cada silaba, se entregara a cada uno una hoja con la palabra "cosecha" y la ficha del descubrimiento en manuscrito. (Estas hojas deben ser hechas antes de la sesion por el coordinador para que las entregue al grupo en este momento.)

Se pide al grupo que copie el contenido de esta hoja en sus libretas. Se invita a que formen palabras y las escriban en sus libretas.

El coordinador escribira en la pizarra las palabras formadas y pedira al grupo que las lean. Si es necesario, se escribiran estas palabras en imprenta y manuscrito y se pedira que las lean. Se puede borrar la imprenta y pedir que lean del manuscrito.

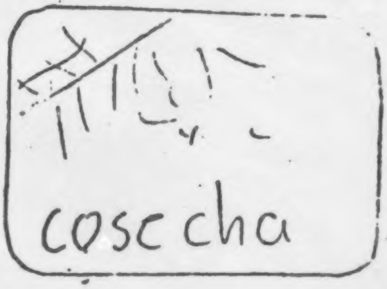
El coordinador escribira otras palabras que salgan de la ficha; pedira que las lean y las copien en sus libretas.

Se reunira lo escrito y el grupo corregira sus errores de escritura. El coordindor escribira las palabras en forma correcta.

Podrian dictarse algunas palabras y corregirse el dictado.

LECTURA Y ESCRITURA "COSECHA"

1 Descodificamos en lamina, por mediao de la conversacion sacamos todo su contenido.



2 Preguntamos al grupo de que hemos conversado en esta reunion? Cuando los participantes digan DE LA COSECHA, el dapacitador mostrara la palabra "cosecha", e invita al grupo a leerla varias veces, observandola muy bien.

3 El capacitador muestra la palabra cosecha sin la lamina e invita a sus companeros a leerla. Si no se recuerdan les puede mostrar nuevamente la lamina. Pide al grupo que lea lentamente.

cosecha

4 Invita al grupo a pronunciar la palabra en golpes y enseguida muestra la palabra CO SE CHA con sus silabas separadas. Invita a leer y una vez aprendidas la lee en orden y en desorden. k De adelante hacia atras y de atras hacia adelante.

co-se-cha

5 El capacitador invita al grupo a concer y leer la familia de co. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que cambban. Leen en forma individual y colectiva. Se puede motivar la formacion de palabras juntando pedazos.

co cu ca

6 El capacitador invita a conocer la familia se. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que se cambian. Se puede motivar la formacion de las palabras juntando pedazos.

se si so
su sa

7 El capacitador invita a conocer y leer la familia de cha. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que cambian.

cha che chi
cho chu

8 El capacitador invita a ver las familias de CO, SE y CHA. Pide a los participantes que descubran la palabra "COSECHA" y que formen a generen nuevas palabras.

co cu ca
se si so su sa
cha che chi cho chu

9 Ahora el capacitador escribe en la pizarra la palabra generadora, las familias silabicas y las palabras nuevas. Los participantes escriben en sus cuadernos las fimilias silabicas y juntan las silabases para formar por escrito palabras nuevas.

soso casa
soso casa.
cosecha
cosecha

PALABRA GENERADORA # 5

"ESCUELA"

Sugerencias para el dialogo.

Que vemos en la lamina?

De que manera ha ayudado la escuela a nosotros?

Quienes son los culpables del analfabetismo?

Quienes llegan a los estudios tecnicos superiores, o a la Universidad?

Cual es la participacion de los profesores en bien de nuestra comunidad?

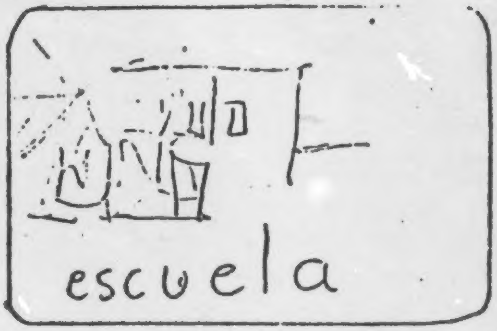
Como trabajadores adultos que estamos haciendo para capacitarnos mas?

Como trabajadores adultos, que clases de educacion necesitamos?

De donde viene el dinero para mantener las escuelas publicas?

LECTURA Y ESCRITURA "ESCUELA"

1 Se descodifica la lamina o se sacan los contenidos culturales que tiene por medio de la conversacion.



2 Se pregunta a los companeros que hemos conversado en esta reuniòn? Cuando los participantes digan SOBRE LA ESCUELA, el capacitador mostrara la palabra escrita e invitara a mirarla y leerla varias veces.

3 En seguida el capacitador muestra la palabra "ESCUELA" sin la lamina y pide a sus companeros que la lean. k Si no se recuerdan, les puede mostrar de nuevo la lamina. Les pide que la lean lentamente.

escuela

4 Invita a pronunciar la palabra en golpecitos y enseguida muestra la palabra escuole con sus silabas separadas. Pide que lean lentomente y muestren dada silaba. Una vez aprendida es conveniente que lean en orden y desorden. De izquierda a derocha y derecha a izquierda.

es cue la

5 la familia de ES. Los participantes leen y muestran los signos que se repiten y los que cambian.

es os as is us

6 El capacitador invita ahora a conocer, leer y trabajar con la silaba CUE, mas o menos como con la anterior.

cue cua cui cuo

7 Corresponde ahora conocer y leer la familia de LA. Los participantes leen y muestran los pedazos y los signos que se cambian o se repiten. Pueden juntar pedazos y formar palabras.

la li le lo lu

8 El capacitador invita a ver las familias de ES, CUE, y LA y pide a los participantes que descubran la palabra ESCUELA.

es os as is us
cue cua cui cuo
la li le lu lo

9 El capacitador invita a los participantes a formar nuevas palabras, mirando las tres familias juntas.

10 El capacitador escribe en la pizarra la palabra escuela, con sus familias silabicas y las nuevas palabras que forme el grupo. Ejercitar la escritura con los participantes.

lalo isla
lalo isla
escuela
escuela

PALABRA GENERADORA # 6

"FAMILIA"

Sugerencias para el dialogo.

Que vemos en la lamina?

Que significa que la familia sea la base de la sociedad?

Que significa la familia para nosotros?

Que obligaciones tienen los padres para con sus hijos?

Cual es el deber de cada persona dentro de la familia? del hombre? de la mujer? de los hijos?

Como influyen en una familia los valores de amor, respeto mutuo, solidaridad, companerismo, trabajo comunitario?

Que pasa con los familias que ustedes dijan en Puerto Rico?

Cuanto tiempo van sin verlos?

Como se siente su familia de que ustedes dijan la isla para venir a trabajar en los Estados Unidos?

Que razon tuvo para venir a los Estados Unidos?

Que cosas echan de menos?

Despues de un tiempo, en que los participantes hayan creado sus palabras, se escribe en la pizarra la palabra "familia" en letra de imprenta y se avisa al grupo que vamos a escribir lo mismo debajo pero lo vamos a hacer en manuscrito.

Pedimos al grupo que observen el movimiento que hacemos con la mano, y los invitamos a leer y comparar. Luego pedimos que copien en sus libretas la palabra en manuscrito.

El coordinador escribira en la pizarra la ficha del descubrimiento en imprenta y manuscrito, tratando que las silabas coincidan para que las vayan identificando.

Cuando hayan observado bien la escritura de cada silaba, se entregara a cada uno una hoja con la palabra "familia" y la ficha del descubrimiento en manuscrito. (Estas hojas deben ser hechas antes de la sesion por el coordinador para que las entregue al grupo en este momento.)

Se pide al grupo que copie el contenido de esta hoja en una libreta. Seinvita a que formen palabras y las escriban en sus libretas.

El coordinador escribira en la pizarra las palabras formadas y pedira al grupo que las lean. Si es necesario, se escribiran estas palabras en imprenta y manuscrito y se pedira que las lean. Se puede borrar la imprenta y pedir que lean del manuscrito.

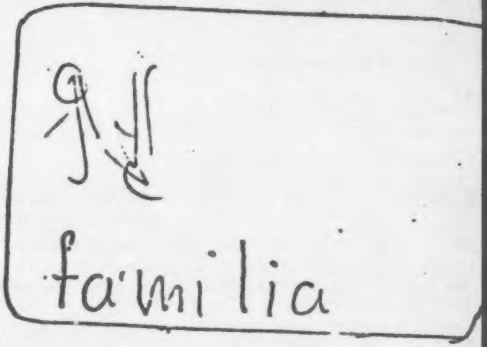
El coordinador escribira otras palabras que salgán de la ficha; pedira que las lean y las copien en sus libretas.

Se reunira lo escrito y el grupo corregira sus errores de escritura. El coordinador escribira las palabras en forma correcta.

Podrian dictarse algunas palabras y corregirse el dictado. Tambien se pueden introducir frases y oraciones.

LECTURA Y ESCRITURA "FAMILIA"

1 En primer lugar descodificamos la lamina, sacando sus contenidos culturales, por medio de la conversacion.



2 Capacitador pregunta a su grupo:
Que hemos conversado en esta reunion?
Cuando los participantes digan: SOBRE LA FAMILIA, mostrara la palabra FAMILIA. pidiendo a todos mirarla y leerla detenidemente unas cuantas veces.

3 En seguida el capacitador muestra la palabra FAMILIA sin la lamina y pide a sus companeros que la lean. Si no se recuerdan les puede mostrar nuevamente la lamina. Invita a leer lento y varias veces, en grupo o individualmente.

familia

4 Invita a pronunciar la palabra en golpes y presenta FA-MILLIA con sus silabas separadas. Leer varias veces, solo o en grupo. Mostrar signos que se repiten y los que cambian. Leer y mostrar pedazos.

fa fi fo fu fa

5

Corresponde conocer, leer y trabajar en la lectura de la familia MI. Podemos hacerlo como con la silaba FA.

mi mo mu ma me

6

Capacitador invita a conocer y leer la familia de LIA. Los participantes muestran signos que cambian y los que se repiten Leer y mostrar pedazos varias veces, en grupo o en forma individual.

lia lie lio liu

7

Eld capacitador invita a conocer y leer las tres familias las tres familias juntas. Pide al grupo que forme la palabra FAMILIA y otras nuevas.

fa fe fu fo fi

mi mo mu ma me

lia lie lio liu

8

El capacitador escribe en la pizarra la palabra generadora, sus familias silabicas y todas aquellas palabras que el grupo haya formado. Los participantes hacen estos ejercicios en sus cuadernos.

fama fumo

fama fumo

familia

familia

WORKER GRIEVANCES AT CAMP WINDSOR WORK STOPPAGE, JUNE 12, 1973

14 de junio de 1973

REUNION DEL COMITE DE MIGRANTES DEL CAMPAMENTO WINDSOR CON LA GERENCIA DE LA SHADE TOBACCO GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

TEMAS PARA DISCUSION:

1. Policia en en campamento Windsor.

   - Se solicitan interpretes para tratar con la policia en el campamento y en el pueblo.
   - Es necesario terminar los atropellos de la policia en contra de los migrantes en el campamento Windsor. Los trabajadores tienen derecho a policias justos.

2. Comida y Cocina.

   - Es necesario mejorar la calidad de la comida en general y la manera en que se cocina. En especifico, es necesario eliminar el sancocho que explota y se descompone en el field y servir algo mejor.
   - Es necesario usar cucharas y tenedores plasticos nuevos todos los dias.
   - Se solicita que se sirva el desayuno mas tarde y un almuerzo caliente en el comedor los dias feriados, ademas de una comida caliente por la tarde esos dias.

3. Hospital

   - Es necesario que se le trate a los trabajadores en el hospital con mas cortesia.
   - El hospital debe tener un doctor permanente o uno que trabaje en el hospital mas a menudo.
   - Se debe proveer transportacion entre los campamentos y el hospital para visitar pacientes.

4. Vistas o juicios para trabajadores.

- Es necesario que las vistas sean mas justas y den la oportunidad al trabajador a defenderse.

- Debe haber representacion de los trabajadores en las vistas.

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
SAN JUAN, P. R.

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF LABOR

August 24, 1972

Appendix 10

LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF LABOR OF PUERTO RICO TO DIRECTOR OF O.E.O. MIGRANT DIVISION

Mr. Peter Mirelles
Migrant Division
Office of Economic Opportunity
Headquarters
1200-19th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mirelles:

Our Program has been under attack by the New England Farm Workers Council, a federal funded organization. An added factor has been introduced, a personal attack on our field representative who forms the backbone of our Program.

This attack does not proclaim the correction of abuses but instead clearly shows an intent to change the entire Puerto Rican Contract Program. As you know our Program has gradually evolved over the last 24 years, throughout varying administrations, and on the basis of responsible Legislative enactments and precedents attuned to the public policy and welfare of our workers. Our Program has been one of the most highly regarded on the mainland.

The true facts concerning the practice of the New England Farm Workers Council will have an effect on the Public, if published, as to have them questioning if the NEFWC is really dedicated to the welfare of Puerto Rican seasonal farm workers. Enclosed please find the result of an investigation based on unfounded grievances submitted by attorney David M. Sheehan, legal adviser to the New England Farm Workers Council.

Cordially yours,

Julia Rivera de Vincenti

Julia Rivera de Vincenti
Secretary of Labor

Enclosure

Appendix 10-

LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF LABOR OF PUERTO RICC TO STATE OFFICIAL OF COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

November 3, 1972

Mrs. Genevieve H. Schiffmacher
Assistant Commissioner
Department of Labor and Industry
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Charles F. Hurley Employment
Security Building
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts

Re: New England Farm Worker's
Council refunding application to
[illegible] - State Clearinghuose
Identifier 7209[illegible]

Dear Mrs. Schiffmacher:

I have been informed that the New England Farm Worker's Council [illegible] application for November 1, 1972 through October 31, 1973, requesting the amount of $3[illegible]0,[illegible]0 from [illegible].

The Massachusetts State Clearinghouse received notification of the proposed project and referred [illegible] to employers [illegible] for [illegible] to the controversy [illegible]. Reply was [illegible] on October 14, 197[illegible].

The proposal states that within the largest [illegible] of seasonal [illegible] workers in the area, nearby [illegible] are Puerto Ricans and that [illegible] to be [illegible] in Puerto Rico will be in [illegible] with other [illegible]. I object the way in which the proposal was made totally ignoring the [illegible]ment of Labor and its Migration Program No doubt you know [illegible] J. [illegible]own, Acting Associate Manpower [illegible] [illegible] to the Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Forum in New York, which submitted a rather [illegible] project within [illegible] concept of the

National Migrant Program, that he coordinate the Program with the Department of Labor in Puerto Rico and the New York Regional Manpower Administration Office.

In the proposed anti-poverty project priority areas, the legal services and health services are given the two first priorities. The legal and health services programs during 1972 were mainly directed toward our contract workers instead of to the non-contract workers who really need some kind of protection. Our program was under attack by the New England Farm Workers Council. The attack did not ask for the correction of abuses, but instead, clearly showed an intent to change the entire Puerto Rican Contract Program. The Migration Program has gradually evolved over the last 84 years, throughout varying administrations and on the basis of responsible Legislative enactments and ordinances attuned to the public policy and welfare of our workers. It has been one of the most highly regarded on the mainland.

I strongly suggest that a more objective and realistic proposal be submitted to offer services to non-contract seasonal agricultural workers who leave Puerto Rico year after year, moving from Puerto Rico to Florida and from Florida to the Eastern Seaboard states, to the Midwest and to the South. A program of this nature should permit offering services to Puerto Rican migrant workers in the above mentioned areas with permenant residence in the states, specially Florida.

There is an apparent purpose over and above the supposed desire to offer services to migrant workers and that is to organize them in a labor union. While I am a firm believer in the right of workers to organize themselves, I am realistic enough to accept that a moving population of seasonal workers, ever changing season after season, does not lend itself to this kind of organization. I dread to see a workable program fall into the hands of people who might see the same to further their purposes.

On March 23, 1972 I wrote you regarding the NEFWC and requested year cooperation in obtaining information as to their activities within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We accept that some improvements in several areas can be worked out, but not the way that the NEFWC developed their activities, mainly harrassment and agitation. I am definitely opposed to this grant and look forward for your support in our opposition.

With my kindest personal regards,

Cordially,

Julia R. de Vincenti

Julia Rivera de Vincenti
Secretary of Labor

JRV/CM/ec/tcv/acr
cc: Mr. Peter Mirelles
Mr. Anthony T. Amenta[1]

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[1] Author's note: Mr. Anthony Amenta is Executive Director of the Shade Tobacco Growers' Association.

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